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MEMOIRS OF THE BASTILE

[FRANCIS GIBSON]

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VIEW of the BASTILE.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

BASTILE:

Tranſlated from the French Regiſters, Records, and other authentic Documents, found in the

ARCHIVES of the CASTLE

At the Time of its Surrender, on the 14th of July, 1789; and publiſhed under the Sanction of the

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF FRANCE.

Interſperſed with Anecdotes of the moſt remarkable Priſoners who have been confined in that Fortreſs; particularly that Perſon uſually ſtyled

The Man in the Iron Mask.

By FRANCIS GIBSON, Eſq. F. A. S.

"Hear all, and then let Juſtice hold the Scale."

Whitby,

Printed for the Editor by Thomas Webſter.

Sold by Rodgers, Clarke, and Layburn, Whitby; Law, Ave-Maria-Lane, London; Mitchell, Newcaſtle; Peck, York; &c. &c.

1802.

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TO THE

HONOURABLE

EDMUND PHIPPS, M.P.

MAJOR GENERAL OF HIS MAJESTY's
FORCES, &c.;

THIS TRANSLATION,

THE TRIBUTE OF AN UNFEIGNED
ESTEEM,

IS,

BY PERMISSION,

RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY HIS MOST OBEDIENT

HUMBLE SERVANT,

F. GIBSON.

WHITBY, Oct. 11th, 1802.

PREFACE.

As the capture and subsequent demolition of the Bastile form a primary feature in the annals of the French Revolution, a true relation of that remarkable event must be of the first importance to the historian, whose duty it is to transmit to posterity, an impartial account of an unexampled ebullition of popular fury, that has convulsed Europe to her centre, and effected the most alarming changes in her political and territorial division.

Having lately met with a work, published by authority of the National Assembly of France, giving an account of the surrender of the Bastile, totally different from those hitherto received as genuine, I thought it highly worthy of a translation.

Its

Its title is, "The Bastile Unveiled; or, a recital of authentic pieces, useful in forming its history; the produce of the sale being appropriated to the relief of the widows and children of those patriotic citizens who were victims to their zeal, in the attack on that fortress. The original papers found in the archives of the Bastile, on its surrender, were deposited in the Lyceum, from the 14th of July to the close of August, for the public inspection, and afterwards removed to the Hotel de Ville."

In this work, I was surprised to find the pamphlet printed for Grangè and sold by Goujon in Paris, under the title of "Remarks and anecdotes on the castle of the Bastile," a shameful imposition on the public. A much better account might have been expected from the pen of M. Linguet, who was some time confined there: but in the subsequent pages it will be found, that what he published in England relative to that state prison, was the offspring of resentment and spleen, and as replete with errours as the plan of the building attached to it.

Signora

Signora Piozzi, in her last curious work entitled Retrospection, (with her *usual* attention to veracity,) asserts, That only six prisoners were found in the Bastile on the day of its capture; one of whom was M. de la Tude, who, according to her, was afterwards brought to the guillotine by the insurgents.

I have observed, and not without a sentiment of uneasiness, that the editors of a literary compilation so respectable as the Encyclopædia Londinensis, have too readily admitted as matters of fact, (in their relation of this event,) several circumstances which seem destitute of foundation: this will be evident, by comparing the following extract from that work with the authentic accounts published by the French National Assembly.

"Upwards of 12000 citizens, armed with musquets, sabres, and hatchets, and headed by the grenadier guards, assembled early in the morning of the 14th of July, 1789, and demanded of the governor, M. de Launay, that the prisoners should be set at liberty, and that the Bastile should be surrendered

rendered into their hands. The governor dissembled, but said he would comply; and ordered the outer gate to be opened, under pretence of admitting a party to take possession of it: but no sooner had they entered, than the gate was shut upon them, and the drawbridge over which they had passed was instantly taken up. The governor then ordered the soldiers of the garrison to fire upon them through loop-holes and turrets, until every person admitted was either killed or wounded. The people without, on hearing the firing, and learning the perfidy of the governor, instantly assaulted the castle in all quarters, when a breach was made, and it was carried by storm. The governor being taken, was executed at the Greve; and M. de Lolme Salbray, major of the Bastile, was killed in defending it.

"The prisoners at this time confined in the fortress were no more than seven; a high proof of the mildness of the government under Louis XVI.—The people, who anxiously look after the wonderful, though in scenes of misery, seemed surprised and even disappointed to find so few.

"The

"The people, with the concurrence of the committee, set about the entire demolition of the Bastile: the city architects were employed to conduct the work, and that immense edifice was soon levelled with the ground."

In this relation, truth and errour are so strangely interwoven, that it is extremely difficult to distinguish between them. Those who have compiled for the editors the article Bastile, seem to have been resolved, even at the expense of their veracity, to blacken the character of M. de Launay, who is falsely accused of having decoyed a great number of citizens into the inner court, and after drawing up the bridge behind, ordering the garrison to fire upon them.

The Bastile was not taken by storm, nor was the least breach ever made: the castle was given up, on a solemn promise from the assailants to spare the lives of the garrison.

M. de Lolme, the major, was not slain whilst defending the fortress: he was murdered after its surrender, by the ferocious multitude, at the place de Greve.

Great Ditch.

Rounds

Small Court.

E

F

C

K

I

A

Rounds

Passage

Gate

L

Great Court.

O

D

B

M

P

N

N

G

H

Q

T

Shops.

Barracks of the Invalids.

S

S

S

S

Great Ditch.

Shops.

Guard Room.

R

Court de l'Orme.

Court of Government.

Terrace.

Rounds

V

Gate of the Arsenal.

A. Tower
B. Tower
C. Tower
D. Tower
E. Tower
F. Tower
G. Tower
H. Tower
I. Hall of
K. Library
L. Chapel

5 10

Garden.

Outer Ditch.

Tabee of References.

of the Chapel.
of the Treasury.
of Liberty.
de Bertaudiere.
de Puits.
de Coin.
de la Basiniere.
de la Comté.
Counsel.
y.
l.

M. Depot of Archives.
NN. Guard-Houses.
O. Ancient Entry into Paris.
P. Ancient Road to Bastion.
Q. Great Bridge.
R. Drawbridge of y^e Avaunt Guard.
S. Barracks of Invalides, under the Armoury.
T. Kitchens.
V. Governor's Hotel.

Scale of Yards.

20 30 40 50 60 70 80

PLAN of the CASTLE OF THE BASTILE

Before its Demolition

in

1789.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

BASTILE.

THE foundations of the Baſtile, were laid in the reign of Charles V. anno 1370, by Hugh d'Aubroit, Mayor or Provoſt of Paris, who, at the ſame time, completed the lines of fortification which encircled the city. He conſtructed the Towers of the Chapel and Treaſury, as defences againſt the attacks of the Engliſh forces, connecting them by a maſſive wall, which was perforated by a lofty gateway, ſecured by a machicolation and portcullis, forming the principal avenue into Paris. Soon after, two ſimilar towers were erected parallel to thoſe, but nearer the city, the intermediate ſpace being interſected by a broad and deep ditch, croſſed by means of two drawbridges.

This was the ſtate of the Baſtile, until the reign of Charles VI., who added four towers, two at each extremity, when the road was turned to the left, through the gate of St. Anthony, and the former paſſages walled up. The eight towers were then united by lines of maſonry, nine feet thick, incloſing various apartments, and carried up to the height of each tower, forming a ſtrong platform, ſupported by the upper arcades of the towers and intermediate buildings, the whole guarded by a ſufficient parapet: on this platform were planted fifteen pieces of cannon, uſed only on days of particular ſolemnities, and on thoſe of public rejoicings. Upon this terrace, which commanded views over the city, ſuburbs, and adjacent country, priſoners, by eſpecial permiſſion, were ſometimes allowed to walk.

The exterior fortifications were begun in 1553, and finiſhed in 1559. They conſiſted of a curtain flanked with baſtions: but in 1634, an alteration was made in the original plan, and the fortifications afterwards formed by a ſingle baſtion, with orillons; the whole being ſurrounded by a ditch 80 feet wide, and 25 in depth from the level of the ſtreet: this ditch was generally dry, except during heavy rains, and when the waters of the Seine aroſe above their uſual level.

On the outſide of the ditch, a wall or counterſcarp, 35 feet in height, encircled the whole of the Baſtile; upon

upon which wall was raiſed a covered way or gallery, ſupported by pillars of wood and ſtone: this was called the paſſage of the rounds, on which a guard patrolled the whole night, at the expiration of each quarter of an hour, ſtriking a bell. On the ſurface of the baſtion were laid out the gardens of the caſtle, where priſoners, attended by a guard, were ſometimes allowed two or three hours recreation.

The principal entrance to the Baſtile was on the right, at the extremity of the ſtreet of St. Anthony. Over the firſt gate was a magazine of arms, that once contained forty thouſand firelocks; but in the year 1780, twenty thouſand ſtand were ſent to the revolted Britiſh colonies in North America, and the remainder removed to the Hotel of the Invalides; excepting ſix hundred muſkets retained by the Governor, and lodged in the interior of the caſtle. The ancient armour, as curious by its variety of form, as valuable for the materials with which it was enriched, was ſeized and carried away by the people on the day of the ſurrender of the fortreſs.

A guard-houſe was attached to this gate, in which were placed two centinels, during the night, to anſwer, and open the barriers when neceſſary. This gate led to the firſt, or Outer Court, where ſtood the Barracks of the Invalides in garriſon, and the ſtables and coach-houſes of the Governor: another entrance led to this court from the garden of the Arſenal. The

ſecond

ſecond Court was ſeparated from the firſt by a ditch and two drawbridges, leading to a ſtrong gate, with a guard-houſe adjoining: part of the area of this court was occupied by the Hotel of the Governor, fronting an avenue thirty yards in length; on the right of which was ſeen a range of buildings, containing the kitchens, and a bath lately formed for the uſe of the Governor's lady. This avenue led to the drawbridges that croſſed the great ditch, and gave admittance to the grand or principal court of the caſtle, 102 feet long, and 72 in width; ſurrounded by the towers, la Liberté, la Bertaudiere, la Baſaniere, la Comtè, le Treſor, and la Chapelle; and the walls uniting theſe towers, 73 feet 3 inches from the ground.

Between the towers of the Treaſury and the Chapel was diſcovered, at the demolition, the ancient entry into Paris; the grooves of the portcullis and hooks of the drawbridges being ſtill viſible. This entry was continued between the towers de la Liberté and la Bertaudiere, until cloſed up in the reign of Charles VI. In the ſpace on the ground-floor between theſe two firſt towers, was formed the Chapel, which formerly was ſupplied with an altar of wood, until removed, and its place filled up by one of ſtone, purſuant to the orders of M. de Launay. Within the thickneſs of the wall were excavated ſix ſmall cloſets or niches, glazed and cloſed by lattices; and a green ſilk curtain, which was drawn aſide, that the priſoners within theſe cloſets

ſets might ſee the elevation of the hoſt during the ceremony of high maſs.

The Grand Court was terminated by a croſs building, with an inſcription in letters of gold, on black marble, purporting its erection in 1761, in the reign of Louis XV., M. de Sartine being lieutenant of the police. It was on a quite different plan from the other buildings, appearing like the elegant manſion of a nobleman or perſon of large fortune. The ground-floor of this edifice was occupied by the Library, the Hall of Council, and Offices, opening into the inner Court. Over the Hall were the apartments of the King's lieutenant; and above theſe, the lodgings of the major and ſurgeon. The ſpare rooms were deſtined for the uſe of priſoners of rank, and for ſuch ſick as needed the advice of the phyſician, who reſided in the Tuilleries. Theſe apartments had not long ſince been occupied by the Cardinal de Rohan, and the Duke de Fitz-james, grandſon of the celebrated Mareſchal Berwick.

The inner, or ſecond Court, was formed by this building, called the Hotel of the etat-major, the two towers de Puits and de Coin, and their connecting walls; its dimenſions being 72 feet by 42. In this court was placed the clock of the caſtle, the front of which was ſupported by two figures in chains; which figures were long ſince removed by order of Monſ. de Breteuil.

The

The Library was originally eſtabliſhed by a liberated priſoner of rank; to which ſeveral additions were made in ſubſequent times, to the amount of five hundred volumes. Priſoners ſometimes had acceſs, by eſpecial permiſſion, to this library; others, by conſent of the lieutenant de police, or the Governor, were allowed the peruſal of ſingle volumes, that were carried to their various places of confinement in the towers. The margins of theſe volumes were crouded with remarks, which diſcovered the ſtate of mind and diſpoſitions of the various priſoners who inſerted them.

In the inner Court was a draw-well of bad water, and conveniences for the reception of poultry. The buildings formerly ſerved as lodgings to the cooks and other aſſiſtants in the kitchens, until they were removed to the court without the grand entrance, by M. de Launay, the late Governor, who, at the ſame time, removed the bath. The apartments within the two towers in this interior incloſure, were only uſed for priſoners on extraordinary occaſions; the whole of the Baſtile being calculated for no more than forty.

The two moſt ancient towers, founded by Hugh d' Aubriot, A. D. 1370, were called the towers of the Chapel and Treaſury; the latter being ſo denominated, from the treaſure amaſſed and lodged there in latter times (1602), by Sully, prime miniſter to Henry IV., to enable his maſter to carry into execution thoſe ſuppoſed vaſt projects, which the dagger of Ravalliac

rendered

rendered abortive, and hid from the eye of futurity in everlaſting oblivion. Soon after the erection of theſe towers, the two called by the names of la Libertè and la Bertaudiere, were raiſed towards the city. Why the former was called by a name ſo diſſonant to its uſe, has given riſe to various opinions and conjectures of little conſequence. The remaining towers, du Puits, du Coin, de Baſiniere, and la Comtè, were erected in the reign of Charles VI., and the whole eight completed, as they appeared previous to the demolition.

The Engliſh philanthropiſt, John Howard, miſled by the author of "Anecdotes and hiſtorical Remarks on the Baſtile," ſpeaks of its priſons as divided into five claſſes: after the dungeons, which they place in the firſt claſs, as the moſt horrible of priſons, the ſecond they divide into three compartments, where remain (as they aſſert,) cages, the bars of which are formed of oak, covered with plates of iron: theſe cages are deſcribed to be eight feet in length, by ſix feet wide. As we wiſh not to calumniate any perſon, not even the agents of deſpotiſm, we muſt confeſs it appears to us, that the former of thoſe authors has copied literally from the other, word for word, as we have no knowledge of any ſuch cages; nor could we procure from the turnkeys, the leaſt information concerning ſuch; neither could the moſt curious, nor any of the workmen employed in the demolition of the fortreſs, after the ſtricteſt ſearch into every vault and the

moſt

moſt ſecret receſſes, diſcover the leaſt marks or remains of ſuch cages. We make the ſame obſervations on the reported *Oubliettes, which were ſaid to have been firſt formed in the reign of Louis XI.; but at the taking, examination, and demolition of the Baſtile, traces of ſuch were no where to be found.

We had likewiſe heard of the ſkeletons of unfortunate priſoners, who were ſuffered to periſh in the dungeons of the caſtle; but no bones, nor any ſuch remains were diſcovered. In the ſurgery, we found a body partly diſſected, which upon examination, proved to be that of a malefactor that the ſurgeon had been preſented with, or had purchaſed for anatomical purpoſes.

It is our duty in this place to rectify an error that has long uſurped the place of truth: we have been taxed with omitting the name of a Count de Lorges, who was found impriſoned on the 14th of July, 1789,

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*Oubliettes, from the French verb, Oublier, to forget, were ſmall pits ſunk in the ground, lined with maſonry, and were ſhaped like an inverted cone, or a ſugar-loaf reverſed; in which the victim was kept down by his own weight, and finding no ſeat, was totally deprived of reſt. Theſe pits were ſuppoſed to be ſunk in particular dungeons of the towers, into which the priſoner was lowered through a trap-door, which cloſed upon him, and he was left to periſh and be forgotten.

and

and had been thirty-two years confined in one of the dungeons. An hiſtory of the ſufferings of this imaginary perſon was publiſhed, and believed to be the "Authentic Memoirs of the Count de Lorges." We have likewiſe ſeen a * print of his perſon, loaded with chains in his dungeon, ſold at the ſhop of M. Curtis, in Paris: but, after examining every paper in our poſſeſſion, the regiſter of the pariſh of St. Louis, and cloſely interrogating the turnkeys, no account of ſuch a perſon could be obtained. When the Baſtile was captured, we found no more than ſeven priſoners, four of whom had been convicted of forgery; another, a perſon of rank, confined at the requeſt of his family, for diſſipation; and two inſane, who ſhould have been ſhortly removed to Charenton. None of thoſe were incarcerated in the dungeons, but had apartments in the towers.

The Calottes, occupying the fifth ſtory in the towers of the Baſtile, were ſuppoſed, next to the dunge-

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* In the year 1790, a capital print of the ſtorming of the Baſtile, was exhibited in London, ſaid to be done from a drawing taken on the ſpot. In the foreground appear ſeveral emaciated figures, covered with hair, expreſſing joy at their deliverance, by the moſt frantic geſtures. In the dark background of the picture, are ſeen ſeveral ſkeletons chained to the walls, with iron cages and inſtruments of torture; whereas, according to the National Reporters, no ſuch inſtruments were found.

ons, to be the moſt inſupportable, from the intenſe heat of the ſummer, and the piercing cold of the winter months: but we have learned from perſons who have been long under confinement in thoſe rooms, that the walls were perfectly dry; and, owing to their extreme thickneſs, they never found themſelves ſo much incommoded by the cold in winter, or the heat in ſummer, as they would have been, at the ſame ſeaſons, in the houſes in Paris. An ancient loophole ſerved as a window, which was cut through a wall nearly ſix feet thick; ſufficiently wide at the interior, but gradually contracting to the outſide of the tower, where it was ſecured by an iron grate.

The chambers below the Calottes were irregular polygons, 16 feet in diameter, and from 15 to 20 feet in height, paved as the upper rooms in Paris generally are, with brick. Three feet beneath this floor, which was ſupported by ſlight beams, was conſtructed a more ſubſtantial one of oak timber, the intervening ſpace being denominated the drum; a moſt remarkable uſe of one of which was made by M. de la Tude, as a place of concealment for the rope-ladder and other apparatus by which he was enabled to make his eſcape. Part of theſe rooms had the advantage of ſeveral windows, though their effect was much leſſened by the thickneſs of the walls, which increaſed in the deſcent to the ground.

Each apartment was cloſed by two doors, from two

to

to three inches in thickneſs, and numbered; ſo that the priſoners were named from the tower and room in which they were confined: the entrance to each tower was guarded by ſimilar doors, beſides ſeveral in the winding courſe of the ſtaircaſe. The dungeons were ſunk 19 feet below the level of the grand Court, and 5 feet above that of the Foſsè: they were provided with only one narrow window, loooking into the ditch, and nearly deprived of air and the light of day; ſurrounded by an humid and infectious atmoſphere, and the floor covered with ſlime, over which crawled toads and other deteſted reptiles; it was impoſſible for the miſerable priſoner to exiſt long in theſe horrid caverns. The author of the "Hiſtorical Remarks" aſſerts, that they were only ſhewn as objects of terror to ſuch priſoners as preſerved an obſtinate ſilence. We could not learn from the turnkeys, that any perſon had been confined in them, excepting one, during the affair of the parliaments, who, refuſing to diſcover his accomplices, was kept a few hours in one, and after his releaſe, divulged all he knew. Except the dungeons, all the chambers were provided with ſtoves or chimneys; the latter were very narrow, and ſecured at different heights by croſs bars of iron; as were likewiſe the deſcending tubes of the water-cloſets.

The ordinary furniture conſiſted of a bed, mattraſs, coverlid and ſheets, with curtains of green ſerge; one or two tables, two pitchers, a candleſtick, a fork, ſpoon and goblet of pewter, two or three chairs, can-

dle-

dle-ſnuffers, and fire-ſhovel. The walls were plaiſtered and white-waſhed, and ſcrawled over with the names of priſoners, drawings in charcoal and red ochre, verſes, and ſentences in proſe, chiefly expreſſive of the uneaſineſs ſuffered by a tedious detention in thoſe abodes of ſilence and ſorrow.

Between the two towers of la Comtè and the Treaſury, a paſſage formerly led to the garden in the baſtion, by a bridge of ſtone croſſing the ditch; at half its length this bridge, by an acute angle, turned to the right, into the gorge of this outwork, from whence the aſcent was to the garden by two flights of ſteps. This bridge remains no longer; and the gateway that led to it between the towers, having long been walled up, the paſſage to the garden led by the way of the rounds.

By a tablet in the Baſtile, the Governor was allowed from the King the following ſums for the table, waſhing, and candles for each priſoner: namely, For a prince of the blood, 50 livres—a mareſchal of France, 36—a lieutenant-general, 24—a counſellor of parliament, 15—an ordinary judge, a prieſt, or a financier, 10—a merchant or an advocate, 5—a tradeſman 3, and one of the lower orders, 2 livres 10 ſous per day, excluſive of fire-wood, a ſeparate article which was ſupplied by the King.

We cannot enter into a particular detail of the proviſions and other allowances made to the priſoners of different

different ranks: but in general thoſe of the lower orders, we believe, might have had occaſional cauſes of complaint.

Each priſoner was allowed a pound of bread, a bottle of ſmall wine daily, with ſoup and boiled meat, accompanied by a ſmall deſert of almonds and raiſins; and apples, cherries, and gooſeberries, when in ſeaſon. At night, a beef ſteak, a ragout, and ſallad.—On maigre days, for fleſh was ſubſtituted boiled cod and other fiſh, with the former allowances of bread and the deſert.

The uſual hours of repaſt were, ſeven o'clock for breakfaſt, eleven for dinner, and ſix for ſupper. Four goalers or domeſtics were appointed to wait on thoſe under confinement: each had the priſoners of two towers in his department: the eldeſt waited upon ſuch as were neareſt the kitchens; accordingly thoſe of the towers of la Comtè and la Baſiniere, had the right of ſeniority.

Should any reduction be made in the different articles allowed for the repaſts of the priſoners, alterations have been ordered, when the cauſes of complaint have been found to be juſt. Some have been permitted, when they diſliked the ſtated fare of the caſtle, to ſend for victuals to a Traiteur in the city. M. Linguet confeſſes, that his table was ſufficiently provided; yet he adds, that there were priſoners in the fortreſs, whoſe rations did not amount to more than four ounces each.

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The author of the "Hiſtorical Remarks," and M. Renneville, make nearly the ſame obſervations. The latter pretends that Bernaville, who was Governor in his time, expended no more daily than 20 ſous for each priſoner, though his allowance was after the rate of 25, on with another: yet this did not appear to be always the caſe; as the ſame Renneville in another place aſſerts, "that under the government of M. de Beſſemaux there were priſoners who quitted the caſtle with reluctance, and others that procured their own confinement, that they might enjoy good cheer free of expence." In theſe different accounts there may be exaggerations; yet they all tend to ſhew the natural irregularity of arbitrary power.*

We are now arrived at the moſt intereſting part of our labours, the Siege, or rather the ſurrender of the Baſtile. Did we not haſten to ſtate and render public the facts and authentic documents that have come to the knowledge of each of us, this event might lie under the clouds of vague notions and erroneous opinions formed by our contemporaries.

In former ages, the Baſtile has been the theatre of important events, many of which have come very imperfectly to our knowledge. In 1589, the preſident Henault affirms, "that Buſſy le Clerc here aſſembled

* This laſt remark ſhews, in a very ſtrong light, the tempers and prejudices of the Commiſſioners.

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the parliament." "In 1652," says the same author, "in the famous battle of St. Anthony, which was fought during the war of the Fronde, on the 2d. of July, between the Prince of Condè and Turenne, and where these two generals acquired equal glory, the Prince had been overcome by the succours brought by the Mareschal de la Fertè, if the common people of Paris, who had hitherto been unconcerned spectators of the engagement, had not saved him by opening their gates, at the persuasion of Mademoiselle, who at the same time caused the cannon of the Bastile to play upon the King's troops."*

Some time before, the castle of the Bastile was invested on the 11th, and surrendered on the 13th of January, 1649, a few shot having been fired for form sake. Twenty-two soldiers marched out with the Governor, whose name was Tremblay.

We now proceed to an exact detail of every fact that happened on the ever memorable day that witnessed the capture of this cavern of despotism. They are either founded on the depositions of the turnkeys, as

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* On the 14th of August, the workmen employed in the destruction of the Bastile, discovered in that part of the tower of la Comte that overlooks the suburb of St. Anthony, five balls, buried in the wall by their projectile force from the cannon; which were cut out, and presented by the National Engineers to M. de la Fayette.

we have already obſerved, or are drawn from the memorial which the ſurviving invalid ſoldiers, that compoſed the garriſon of the Baſtile, drew up and permitted us to publiſh. On the 14th of July, 1789, we found in the caſtle no more than ſeven priſoners: below are their names, thoſe of the towers they inhabited, and the different turnkeys who waited on them.

Turnkeys.	Priſoners.	Story.	Tower.
Trecour	Tavernier	3	Comtè.
	Pujade	3	Baſiniere.
	La Roche	4	Idem.
Guyon	Le Comte de Solagès	4	Bertaudiere.
	De Whyte	1	Idem.
Fanfard	La Caurege	1	du Puits.
	Bechade	1	du Coin.

Cauſes of detention.

Tavernier—Mad, ſent to Charenton.

Pujade—Forging bills of exchange on Tourton, Ravel, and Santerre.

La Roche—Ditto.

Le Comte de Solagès—At the requeſt of his family, on ſerious charges.

De Whyte—Inſane, ſent to Charenton by the Directory.

La Caurege—Forging bills of exchange.

Bechade—Ditto.

To liberate thoſe priſoners, we were obliged to break open the doors of their chambers, as the keys were then carried in triumph through the ſtreets of Paris.

Paris. On the ſtricteſt ſearch, accompanied by and under the guidance of the turnkeys, we found no more than ſeven living priſoners: no dead bodies,—no ſkeletons,—no perſon in chains: theſe were only popular reports, totally deſtitute of foundation. In a ſmall room belonging to the ſurgeon, were found parts of an anatomical preparation, which might have given riſe to this error.

From the commencement of the tumult at the houſe of the Sieur Reveillon, in the ſuburbs of St. Anthony, who had eſtabliſhed a large cotton manufactory, M. de Launay had begun to put the Baſtile in a proper ſtate of defence, and his precautions were augmented as the fermentation increaſed in Paris.

Upon the towers were planted 15 pieces of cannon, 11 of which were 8 pounders; the reſt carrying balls of no more than 4 lbs. Thoſe pieces were mounted on marine carriages, and could be of little or no ſervice, except on days of public rejoicings; as, after the firſt diſcharge, the cannoneers could not make a ſecond, but by the tedious and painful operation of the lever, beſides being expoſed to the fire of the enemy's muſquetry. In the grand Court, facing the principal gateway, were planted three 4 pounders, on travelling carriages, which had been recently brought from the arſenal, and were charged with grape-ſhot. In addition to theſe, the Governor had drawn from the magazine, into the caſtle, 12 wall pieces, or Amuſettes

of Count Saxe, each carrying a ball of a pound and a half. He had prepared ſix of thoſe for defence, though one only was made uſe of, which was pointed through a loop cut in the great gate, and through the raiſed drawbridge, by the officer commanding the Swiſs. This piece alone did more execution, than the other cannon and muſquetry of the caſtle.

The ordnance ſtores were, 400 ſmall cannon balls, 14 caſes of grape, 15000 ball cartridges, an inconſiderable number of large ſhot, and 250 barrels of gunpowder, 125 lbs. each. The powder had been conveyed, during the nights of the 12th and 13th of July, from the arſenal to the Baſtile, by the Swiſs of the regiment of Salis-ſamade, and was firſt depoſited in the Court; but afterwards ſecured, part in the dungeon of the tower la Libertè, and the reſt in the magazine of the platform.

In addition to thoſe means of defence, on the 9th and 10th of July, the Governor cauſed to be conveyed to the leads of the towers, ſix cart-loads of paving ſtones, broken iron bars, and ancient balls of various large calibre, found at different times in the caſtle ditch. Theſe, in caſe of failure of ammunition, or in an attempt to ſtorm the great gate, were to be caſt down on the heads of the aſſailants, which ſeemed a neceſſary precaution; for notwithſtanding M. de Launay had cauſed the embrazures of the two cannon fronting the Hotel of Government, to be cut to the depth

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of eighteen inches, they could not be made to bear down upon the drawbridge.

A ſhort time before, all the bridges were repaired, and the railing by which the ditch might be paſſed when they were raiſed, taken away and lodged in the ſmall Court of the caſtle, where, after the capture, it was found. Nearly about the ſame time, the priſoner Tavernier was removed from the tower Baſiniere, to that of la Comtè, as his chamber was judged uſeful for the reception of ſmall pieces of cannon, which might play on the drawbridge; but this idea was ſoon abandoned, as the loops in this tower were found too ſmall to anſwer the purpoſe of embrazures for the wall pieces.

A diſcovery was made in the Governor's apartments of a window, ſtongly cloſed by thick oak plank, provided with loop-holes and ſhutters, capable of receiving ſix wall pieces, pointing to the avenue of the great bridge. This kind of intrenchment was not ſo much damaged by the fire; but it was viſible after the capture of the caſtle, and was pointed out to us by M. Jallier. It was fortunately of no uſe, as M. de Launay retired to the interior of the fortreſs, previous to the attack; yet it was ſo artfully contrived, by means of half ſhutters, that it was not viſible from without.

The whole ſtock of proviſions conſiſted of no more

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than two ſacks of flour, and a ſmall quantity of rice. There was not any want of wood in the caſtle; but no oven, ſave a ſmall one for paſtry. No water, excepting what was conveyed from without by means of lead pipes, which might either be cut, or the ſpring poiſoned. In the ditch and inner Court there were wells, but the water was not potable.

On the morning, a ſoldier and drummer, after much ſolicitation, obtained leave to go without the gates for certain articles of proviſion brought to them by their wives. They had no ſooner paſſed the outer barrier, than they were ſeized, and conducted to the Hotel de Ville, where they were interrogated and ſet at liberty, and at preſent are at the Hoſpital of Invalides.

On the 12th of July, the Revolution commenced in Paris: at the hour of ſeven in the evening, the people begun to aſſemble from all quarters, and flew to arms.

On the 13th, at two in the morning, M. de Launay ordered the garriſon into the interior of the caſtle, including the 32d Swiſs, who had been a ſhort time at the Baſtile. He likewiſe commanded the gates of the quarter where the troops had left their effects, to be cloſed, leaving only without two invalid ſoldiers, to open and ſhut thoſe leading to the arſenal and the ſtreet of St. Anthony. The two ſoldiers were arreſted and conducted to the Hotel de Ville, on Tueſday the 14th, on the morning; where, after encountring ma-

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ny dangers, and violent reſolutions on the part of the people, they were at length ſet at liberty.

The garriſon remained in the interior of the Baſtile the whole of the 13th; centinels being placed wherever the Governor thought them neceſſary, and twelve men were ordered to the leads of the towers, to obſerve what was paſſing in the city.

This day paſſed tranquilly over, with the exception of a good deal of abuſive language addreſſed to the centinels on the towers, by the various mobs as they paſſed by. Between the hour of eleven and midnight, ſeven muſquet ſhots were fired upon thoſe centinels, which cauſed a little alarm. M. de Launay hearing the cry, "To arms!" aſcended the towers, accompanied by ſeveral ſubaltern officers, to know the cauſe: on which an account was given him of what had paſſed. He remained half an hour on the platform; and then obſerving that all was quiet, retired, accompanied by thoſe who had aſcended with him.

On the 14th. at ten in the morning, three private men came to the barrier of the Baſtile, and told the ſoldier on guard there, that they wiſhed to ſpeak with the Governor, they being deputies from the city. This ſoldier conducted them to the little drawbridge of the avaunt-guard, then went and informed the Covernor, that three deputies from the city, attended by an immenſe multitude, demanded an audience. The Governor and the other officers of the etat-major came to

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the firſt bridge, and ordered it to be lowered; but the Governor ſeeing the immenſe croud that followed thoſe ſelf-created deputies, told them, "he could allow no more than three to enter; but that four ſubaltern officers ſhould remain with the people as hoſtages, until their ſafe return." Accordingly the four officers remained, and the deputies were allowed to enter. They were ſtill at the Governor's hotel, when M. de la Roſiere entered, likewiſe followed by numerous individuals of all claſſes, who ſtopped in the firſt court, oppoſite the bridge of the avaunt-guard. When theſe three deputies retired, M. de la Roſiere ſpoke to M. de Launay in the following terms; "I come, ſir, in the names of the City and the Nation, to repreſent to you, that as the cannon mounted on the towers of the Baſtile, have been the cauſe of much uneaſineſs and alarm in the city of Paris, you will order them to be diſmounted and taken away; and I hope you will acquieſce in this demand, which I am charged to make."

"That is not in my power," replied the Governor. "Thoſe cannon have been planted on the towers from time immemorial; nor can I remove them, but by an order from the King. As I am already informed of the alarm they have cauſed in the city, though I cannot diſmount them from their carriages, yet I have ordered them to be drawn back from the embrazures."

M. de la Roſiere then demanded permiſſion from the Governor to enter the inner Court, which M. de

Launay,

Launay, by the perſuaſion of the major, reluctantly granted. On his entrance, he immediately ſummoned the officers and ſoldiers, in the names of Honour, the City, and the Nation, to change the direction of the cannon, and to ſurrender. At the recommendation of the Governor and Fort-major, the officers and ſoldiers ſolemnly ſwore, they would neither fire nor make the leaſt uſe of their arms, provided they were not firſt attacked.

M. de la Roſiere then demanded, and obtained leave of the Governor, to aſcend the towers, that he might be an eye-witneſs to every arrangement there, and be enabled to make a faithful report to thoſe citizens who had deputed him. Deſcending with M. de Launay, he declared aloud in the Court, before the officers and ſoldiers, "that he was completely ſatisfied, and hoped a citizen's guard would be allowed to protect the Baſtile, conjointly with the garriſon." Then quitting the caſtle, he retired with the Governor to his hotel. The people, impatient for the return of their deputy, called for him with threatening cries. M. de la Roſiere appeared at a window, and calmed the tumult by ſaying, he ſhould immediately join them; accordingly in a few minutes he quitted the place.

[The remainder of the account is given from the report of the ſurviving invalids.]

But in little more than a quarter of an hour, what was the ſurpriſe of the officers of the etat-major and

ours,

ours, at the approach of an innumerable croud of people, armed with muſquets, ſabres, ſwords, and hatchets, vociferating, "Surrender the caſtle! Down with the troops!" meaning the ſoldiers upon the towers. We ſpoke to them in the mildeſt manner poſſible, endeavouring to make them ſenſible of their danger, and requeſting them to retire.

In ſpite of our remonſtrances, they continued obſtinately advancing; and two men, mounting the roof of the guard-houſe adjoining the firſt drawbridge, by repeated ſtrokes of hatchets cut its chains; while others, in the ſame manner, cut the chains of the ſmall one. This obliged us to call to them, firmly, to retire, or we ſhould fire upon them; but without effect; and they ſucceeded in lowering both the bridges. Emboldened by this ſucceſs, they ran in crouds to ſeize on the great drawbridge, making a full diſcharge of muſquetry upon the garriſon.

We were now reduced to the neceſſity of firing upon them, in our turn, to prevent their taking poſſeſſion of this bridge, as they had of the firſt. This diſcharge threw them into diſorder, and they fled under the roofs of the gateways, from whence they ſtill kept up a ſcattered fire; without, however, advancing to take poſſeſſion of the ſecond bridge.

An hour after this attack, we heard from the quarter of the arſenal, the beat of a drum, accompanied by

F. Gibson Del.

ATTACK on the BASTILE.

T. Webster Sc.

by howlings and acclamations of terror, and ſoon after perceived a flag, eſcorted by an immenſe croud of armed citizens: this flag was planted in the Court de l'Orme, guarded by a ſmall number of the multitude that accompanied it. The reſt, advancing as far as the Court of Government, called to us, "not to fire: that they were the deputies of the city, and wiſhed to ſpeak with the Governor, whom they requeſted to deſcend." M. de Launay and the ſubaltern officers who were upon the towers, called to them to bring forward the flag with the deputies, and cauſe the people to retire to the outer Court: at the ſame time a ſubaltern officer, named Guyot de Fleville, to convince them it was not our intention to fire upon them, grounded his firelock, requeſting us to do the like, which we did, and unanimouſly cried, "Fear not; remain where you are; we ſhall not fire; advance your ſtandard and your deputies; the Governor will deſcend and ſpeak with you; we ſhall immediately lower the drawbridge and give them entrance, and ſix of us ſhall remain with you as hoſtages."

After many intreaties from the invalid ſoldiers, the people made a ſudden ſtop, and the deputies entered by the wicket into the Court of the Paſſage, where they then might ſee the ſoldiers upon the towers with grounded arms, who called to them to enter with their flag and ſpeak with the Governor, giving their word of honour not to fire upon them. The deputies might

likewiſe ſee upon the platform, a white flag, the ſignal of peace and parley.

The deputies remained in this Court about ten minutes, without offering to advance to ſpeak with the Governor, though the ſubalterns called aloud from the tops of the towers, "Come in, and explain yourſelves; you have nothing to fear; we will anſwer for your ſafety with our heads."

Paying no attention to thoſe propoſitions, the deputies retired into the Court de l'Orme, where they remained about a quarter of an hour, to conſult, as we ſuppoſe, on the offers we had made of ſurrendering the fortreſs, if they were in reality the deputies of the city.

The Governor then ſaid, "You ſee, gentlemen, that this deputation and this flag are not in reality from the city, but contrived for the purpoſe of ſurpriſing us: had they been legally inveſted with power, after the promiſes you have made to them, they could not have heſitated in announcing to me in perſon, the reſolutions entered into at the Hotel de Ville."

Thoſe deputies, after remaining a ſhort time in the Court de l'Orme, retired, attended by a very ſmall number of thoſe who firſt accompanied them: the greater part remained, filling the three courts of l'Orme, the Paſſage, and that of Government. The deputies being gone, the people came in crouds to the

attack

attack of the ſecond drawbridge, determined to lower it as they had done the firſt. The ſubaltern officers upon the towers, with loud and repeated cries urged them to deſiſt, otherwiſe they ſhould be compelled to fire upon them; but they were deaf to entreaty.

Judging from the tumultuous and increaſing violence of the croud, that thoſe who had preſented themſelves at the gates could not be the real deputies from the city, the Governor gave the word, to fire: this diſcharge killed ſeveral, and diſperſed the others. They did not, however, retire far, but continued firing upon the garriſon ſtationed on the towers; then, with iron crows and hatchets, began to break open the gates of the Quarter; but being annoyed by the muſquetry from the caſtle, they abandoned the attempt; and now repairing to the back doors of the buildings, forced them all, and plundered the dwelling-houſes.

An hour after this, they brought three waggons loaded with ſtraw, and ſet fire to the advanced corps de garde, the Governor's hotel, and the kitchens. At this critical moment a cannon, charged with grape-ſhot, was fired from the caſtle; the only one that was diſcharged from the fortreſs in an attack of five hours, during which time muſquetry alone was employed.—They could reap no advantage from this combuſtion, which was more prejudicial than uſeful to the beſiegers: in fact, it ſerved to defend the fortreſs, and to render the ſecond bridge impregnable.

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It was then we ſaw the national guards advance, who planted in the Court de l'Orme two pieces of cannon, 4 pounders; another, inlaid with ſilver, from the King's garde-meuble; and a mortar: yet even this train of artillery had been inſufficient for the reduction of the Baſtile, had we defended it againſt the enemies of the ſtate. Forty-eight hours had elapſed ſince we received any allowance of proviſions, excepting what was found in the outer quarter, when the Governor ordered us to quit it.

We ought not here to paſs over the names of Ferrand and Bequard, who reſcued the city of Paris from the moſt terrible of diſaſters. About four in the afternoon, the Governor, ſtrongly ſolicited by the ſubaltern officers to ſurrender the Baſtile, ſeeing that, for want of proviſions, he could not long hold out, ſeized a match from one of the cannoneers in the inner court, with intent to ſet fire to the powder contained in the tower la Liberté, which he had inevitably done, and blown the caſtle, the ſuburbs of St. Anthony, with every contiguous building, into the air, had not theſe two ſubaltern officers prevented his deſign, by preſenting their bayonets and compelling him to retire. Ferrand repulſed the Governor at the door of the magazine, and Beguard acted in the ſame manner at the entrance of the tower la Liberté.

M. de Launay then aſked the garriſon, "What were the next ſteps to be taken? For his own part, he ſaw no

no other way of eſcaping from being murdered, except by continuing to defend the towers to the laſt extremity, and then running the riſque of leaping from the battlements, rather than ſurrender."

The ſoldiers replied, "That it was impoſſible to hold out longer; that they would give up all, rather than be inſtrumental in the further maſſacre of their fellow-citizens: that it would be more adviſable to order a drum to aſcend one of the towers and beat the chamade, and diſplay at the ſame time a white flag, as a ſignal of capitulation. The Governor having no flag, gave them a white handkerchief to be attached to a ſtaff, with which two ſoldiers, Rouf and Roulard, mounted the tower, diſplaying this ſignal, as they marched round the platform by beat of drum: this they continued a full quarter of an hour, while the people without kept up a continual fire, regardleſs of either the flag or the drum.

A ſhort time after the invalids with the drum had deſcended from the tower, the beſiegers, obſerving that the firing had ceaſed from all parts of the Baſtile, advanced, keeping up a diſcharge of muſquetry, to the great drawbridge, exclaiming loudly, "Down with the bridge!" A Swiſs officer addreſſed them through a loop-hole adjoining the levers, and demanded permiſſion to retire with the honours of war, which was refuſed him.

This

This officer then wrote out a capitulation, concluded in theſe terms: "We are in poſſeſſion of 2000 lbs. weight of powder, and will blow up the caſtle and the whole quarter, if you refuſe us thoſe conditions."—This note was paſſed through the loop-hole, and by means of a long plank laid acroſs the ditch, received and read by the Sieur Elie to the people, who unanimouſly exclaimed, "Lower the bridge and no harm ſhall happen to you." Confiding in this promiſe, the Governor gave the key of the little drawbridge, which he had in his pocket, to a corporal named Giard, who with Perau, a ſubaltern, opened the gate and lowered the bridge. It is certain, that had we foreſeen what afterwards happened, we ſhould not have lowered the bridge until we had received a written confirmation of the capitulation, ſigned at the Hotel de Ville.

The gate was no ſooner opened, than the people ruſhed in in crowds, throwing themſelves upon the invalids, who had piled their arms againſt the wall on the right of the entrance. The Swiſs were on the oppoſite ſide; but they eſcaped the firſt burſt of popular fury, by being cloathed in long ſurtouts, which cauſed the mob to take them for priſoners. This miſtake is eaſily accounted for, as the Swiſs never made their appearance on the platform of the towers, but remained in the courts below, firing through every loop-hole in the walls, and thoſe they had pierced in the planks of the raiſed drawbridges.

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The people were ſo blinded by their fury, that they broke into the new croſs-building of the etat-major, pillaging the apartments, and throwing the broken furniture from the windows; while thoſe in the courts, ſuppoſing them part of the garriſon, fired into the building and killed great numbers.

The invalids were dragged like ſlaves into various parts of the city: twenty-two were conducted to the Hotel de Ville, and after undergoing various kinds of humiliation and torture, they beheld two of their comrades expiring on gibbets: a ſight more horrid to them than death. They were preſented to an officer of the Pariſian militia, who in the ſharpeſt terms of reproach exclaimed, "You have fired upon your fellow-citizens, and merit that death which you ſhall ſhortly receive." At this inſtant, a number of voices cried out, "Deliver them to us, to be conveyed to the gallows!"—"The National guards, however, begged our lives, with whoſe requeſt the people, rather more calm, reluctantly complied. We reſted here about half an hour, after which the guard conducted us to their barracks, where we ſupped and ſlept very tranquilly, and the next morning were led under an eſcort to the Hotel de Ville."

By this it clearly appears, that the Baſtile was not taken by aſſault. We defy any one to prove that the leaſt breach was made: no one entered until we had let down the draw-bridge, and the Sieur Elie was the firſt military man whom we ſaw in the court.

The

The invalids loſt every article belonging to them, as their quarter was completely plundered. The garriſon loſt only one ſoldier during the attack, who was killed upon the towers. Three or four of the invalids were ſlightly wounded.

Report of the garriſon killed or wounded, after the ſurrender.

The Marquis de Launay, the Governor, after being wounded in four places, was dragged to the Greve, beheaded there, and his head carried with acclamations through the ſtreets.

Monſieur de Lolme-Salbray, Major, after ſuſtaining every indignity, was murdered at the Greve, oppoſite the piazza of St. John.

M. de Miray, Aid-Major, killed by the mob in the ſtreet la Tournelle.

M. Perſon, Lieutenant of a company, killed at the granary gate.

M. Caron, Lieutenant in the ſame company, wounded in four places, and conducted to the Hotel-Dieu.

Dumont, an invalid ſoldier, maſſacred within the caſtle.

Aſſelin and Bequard, hanged at the Greve, both invalids.

[Here finiſhes the memorial, and what intelligence we could procure from the ſurviving invalids.]

We

We had forgot to mention in our report, a certain perſon called Aubin-Bonnemere, an ancient ſoldier in the royal regiment of Comtois infantry, who chiefly aſſiſted in breaking open the great gates after the bridge was lowered, which, in deſcending, killed one man and terribly bruiſed another. After the little draw-bridge was let down by Tournay, two other invalids attempted to raiſe it again, but were repulſed by him and this old ſoldier.

We have alſo omitted noticing a perſon whoſe name was Degain, preſent at the capitulation, and ſeized M. de Launay, the Governor, who was torn from him by the mob in the ſtreet of St. Paul, and hurried to the place of execution.

It was certainly fortunate for Paris that the garriſon made ſuch a feeble reſiſtance. Had the artillery of the platform been ordered to play, the firſt draw-bridge could not have been taken poſſeſſion of without the utmoſt danger; neither could the people ſo ſoon have gained entrance into the Court of Government. Had the great bridge been lowered, and the three cannon, loaded with grape in the inner Court, been diſcharged, what a ſhocking carnage would have been made amongſt the people! Who durſt have expoſed themſelves to it? M. de Launay, more qualified for the place of a goaler than that of the commandant of a garriſon, ſeemed to have loſt his ſenſes, when he beheld the innumerable multitude of aſſailants by whom his fortreſs was ſurrounded.

We have now, citizens, fulfilled our duty, and have neglected no research. We have publiſhed every thing with the utmoſt exactitude, that has come to our knowledge concerning this ever-memorable day. Let every one act in the ſame manner. If we have been guilty of errors or miſtatements, let them be proved, and they ſhall be rectified. We ſeek but the truth, happy to find it and to make it known.

The Marquis de Launay, Knight of the order of St. Louis, Governor of the Baſtile.

This unfortunate man appears to have been deficient in courage, prudence, and foreſight: the inſtances he gave of the firſt quality, ſeem to have originated in deſpair. The Baſtile was by no means prepared for a ſerious attack before the 12th of July; and it certainly was an unpardonable neglect, in not procuring a ſufficient ſtock of proviſions and water for the uſe of the garriſon.

The commiſſioners aſſert, that M. de Launay merited his fate, by not ſurrendering at the firſt ſummons: but they ſhould have recollected, that he was intruſted with the command of an important poſt, by his Sovereign, and could not, as a man of honour, deliver it into the hands of a tumultuous rabble. He was alſo blamed for paying too much attention to the officer commanding the detatchment of Swiſs guards,

who

who ſeveral times declared to the Governor; "That he could never more appear before his regiment, were he inſtrumental in the ſurrender of a fortreſs in the defence whereof he was intruſted by the King, without diſcharging a muſquet."

M. de Launay, by the above account, appears to have been a man of auſtere, reſerved manners, and extremely unpopular with his garriſon; though no inſtances of cruelty, or neglect of his priſoners, were found on the journals.

A contrary character is given of M. de Lolme, Major and ſecond in command, who is deſcribed by the commiſſioners, from the information of the turnkeys, as mild and benevolent; ever ready to do all in his power to alleviate the diſtreſs of the priſoners; and whoſe untimely and unmerited fate, was deeply regretted by all parties.

The following anecdote, taken from the journal, is a full confirmation of this.——The Marquis of Pilleport, who had been ſome time under confinement at the Baſtile, having been convicted as the author of a pamphlet, highly indecorus, intitled, "The Devil amongſt the Holy-water," after his releaſe, retired to his eſtate at Stenay: but having two ſons at the military ſchool, he came to Paris to examine the progreſs they had made, which happened on the day of the capture of the Baſtile. Arriving at the Greve, he ſaw the execution of M. de Launay, who was dragged to

the

the ſcaffold, covered with wounds. Soon after, he beheld another victim, who, though diſguiſed by blood and dirt, and his cloaths torn from his body, he diſcovered to be M. de Lolme, the major, whom the ſanguinary mob were forcing to the ſame fatal ſpot. Struck with horror at the ſight of a man in ſuch a ſituation, who with honour and humanity had been the comforter of the priſoners, and who had taken the moſt tender intereſt in *his* affairs; he liſtened to no voice but that of gratitude, and flew to embrace the unfortunate man, whom the ferocious multitude were dragging along with a degree of frantic fury, capable of freezing the blood in the veins of the moſt obdurate hearts,—"Stop!" he exclaimed, (ſpringing upon the bleeding officer,) "You are ſacrificing the moſt honourable perſon on earth: I was long in the Baſtile---he was my comforter." Thoſe words ſtruck the Sieur de Lolme, who caſting up his languid eyes, (though ſtill treated with the groſſeſt indignity by the wretches who ſurrounded him,) like an old Roman calmly ſaid, "Conſider, young man, what you are doing! Do not ſacrifice your own life, by vainly endeavouring to ſave mine." The Marquis, ſeeing the blood-thirſty multitude deaf to entreaty, called aloud, "Stand back, I will myſelf defend him againſt you!" and, forgetting that he was unarmed, repelled the croud by the energy of his blows; but a ferocious wretch ſtruck him violently on the neck with a hatchet, which made a deep wound and beat off his hat: the monſter was preparing

paring to ſplit his ſkull, when he was thrown to the ground by the Chevalier de Jean, who had accompanied the Marquis.

Still the Major could not be reſcued: aſſailed from all quarters, cut with ſabres and bayonets, M. Pilleport ſeized a muſquet, and with lion-like vengeance, though attacked on all ſides, ſtruck around, overwhelming all who oppoſed him. His firelock being at laſt torn from him, he had periſhed, if by a deſperate effort he had not penetrated throngh the croud and gained the ſtaircaſe of the Hotel de Ville, where he fainted. His wounds were examined, and found not to be mortal; but the unfortunate Major was left to his fate.

M. Louis de Flue, commandant of the Swiſs detachment at the Baſtile, eſcaped after the ſurrender, but in what manner ſeems not to be known: yet the commiſſioners relate, that after the affair, the regiment of Salis-ſamade was ſent to Arras, where it had formed part of the garriſon: on its arrival there, the municipal officers and citizens raiſed the drawbridges and pointed their cannon upon them: they would only receive the officers, whom they conducted to the Hotel de Ville, where they obliged them to take an oath, That they never had nor ever would bear arms againſt the French: after this ceremony the regiment was permitted to enter the city, where they were feaſted three days. Yet (add the commiſſioners,) we vouch not for the authenticity of this ſtory. N. B.

N. B. After this they make the following obſervations: We know that M. Louis de Fluc had drawn up an account of what paſſed in the interior of the Baſtile on the 14th of July, but that he was reſolved to defer the publication, until the public mind ſhould be reduced to ſuch a ſtate of tranquillity, as to be capable of attending to the voice of reaſon and truth. Though this memoir may in ſeveral places oppoſe our own ſtatement, yet ſhould he favour us with a copy, it ſhall be attached to our appendix.

M. Perſon, Lieutenant of a company, was maſſacred at the Gate-aux-Bleds. After his death, a citizen ſoldier of the diſtrict of the Barnabites, found his croſs of St. Louis in his waiſtcoat pocket: on the 3d of September, the officers of that diſtrict preſented the croſs to the Marquis de la Fayette, *the military citizen being content with the honour of having deſerved it.*

The invalids who ſurvived loſt their all, and though that was not conſiderable, yet it was the whole of what they poſſeſſed. The beheld their quarter pillaged by men whom they had regarded as their fellow-citizens: what thoſe robbers had miſſed, was conſumed by the flames, and their comrades killed by their ſides. Thus were thoſe veterans rewarded, who had grown grey in the ſervice of their country.

REGISTERS

REGISTERS OF THE BASTILE.

On examining the regiſters of the caſtle, it appears, that in the courſe of forty-ſix years, the names of 2000 priſoners were entered in the books; which number is certainly not extraordinary, when compared with the population of the kingdom.

Thoſe regiſters were divided into columns, certifying the priſoner's name, rank, cauſe of detention, with the times of entry and releaſe.

The following names are extracted from the regiſters above-mentioned.

In 1663—Madame Margaret Carita, ſuſpected of being engaged in a treaſonable deſign againſt the King of Denmark.

In 1665—M. de Buſſy Rabutin, for writing, The amorous Hiſtory of the Gauls.

In 1674—The Chevalier de Rohan, who was beheaded on the 29th of November, that year.

In 1680—The Marſhal de Luxembourg, involved in an information given againſt that execrable woman La Voiſin, a fortune-teller, who ſold poiſons, and was burnt on the 22d of February, 1680.

Stephen

Stephen de Bray, for blaſphemy, ſacrilege, and poiſoning: he was condemned and burnt at the Greve.

Paul Trovato, Don Andrè Trovato, and Victorina Trovato, for compounding and ſelling improper drugs and poiſons.

Charles Combon, called Count Longueval, a maker of horoſcopes, a fortune-teller, and vender of drugs to procure abortions.

Note. At this time the deteſtable practice of poiſoning, introduced from Italy, was highly prevalent, and in which ſeveral ladies of high rank were implicated, particularly the *Counteſs of Soiſſons, (mother of the celebrated Prince Eugene,) who ſuffered impriſonment on that account.

Joſeph Tarina, footman to the Venetian ambaſſador, for having ſaid, in an antichamber at Verſailles, amongſt a number of other ſervants, "Who can hinder me from killing the King?"

In 1684—The Sieur Beranger de la Berliere, major in the regiment of Burgundy, for a plot againſt the King's perſon.

In 1690—St. Vigor, affecting to be an hermit; a man of moſt licentious manners.

Note. That part of the regiſter which relates to

* Vide anecdote the 1ſt.

the

the Man with the Iron Maſk,* is wanting: he arrived at the Baſtile, from the iſle of St. Marguerite, on the 18th of September, 1698.

In 1701—Louiſa Simon, a widow, cohabiting with an Abbè named Mazures.

A fortune-teller, for pretending to have ſecrets inſpiring love, and to be able to make marriages.

In 1702—The Sieur la Perche, a fencing-maſter, accuſed of having ſaid, "That the King oppreſſed his ſubjects, and only thought of amuſing himſelf with his old woman, Madame Maintenon; that he would ſoon be a King of beggars; that his officers were ſtarving; that he had ruined the kingdom by driving away the Huguenots; &c."

The Sieur le Cocq, and Caſimir his valet de chambre, a ſpy of the Duke of Marlborough, and connected with the Counteſs of Montroyal.

In 1716—Laurence d'Houry, for inſerting in his almanac, an eulogium on the Houſe of Stuart, and denying George I. the title of King of Great-Britain.

† Francis Arouet de Voltaire, for writings againſt the Regent and other perſons in high offices.

In 1719—The Duke de Richelieu‡ was ſent to the Baſtile for the third time.

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* Vide anecdote the 2d. † Vide anecdote the 3d.
‡ Vide anecdote the 4th.

In 1731—Louis Renè de Boure, formerly an officer in the navy: he had written an addreſs againſt Cardinal Fleury. It is obſerved in the regiſter, "That he is a diſcontented ſchemer, who wrote libels againſt perſons in office, becauſe they neglected his projects."

In 1732—The Sieur Terraſon, for a deſign of carrying into foreign countries, the ſecrets and plans of the manufactory at Lyons: he died in the Baſtile after twelve years' confinement. He was treated with lenity, and allowed to walk about the place.

Louis Broeg, innkeeper at the village of Bouy, who, three months after his arrival, threw himſelf from the tower du Coin, and was killed on the ſpot. He had been accuſed of the murder of two revenue officers, which was afterwards proved to be falſe.

In 1733—The Abbè Vaillant, pretending to be the prophet Elias returned to earth for the converſion of the Jews.

The Sieur Heudes, a prieſt of Rouen in Normandy, for debauchery.

The Count d'Auvergne, who having diſſipated his fortune amongſt impoſtors, taught his ſon (about five years of age,) to counterfeit convulſions.

In 1738—Father Leonard d'Arvil, of the monaſtery of la Trappe; a libertine and cheat.

In 1739—The Duke de l'Eſpare; by way of correction for youthful follies.

The

The Sieur Broudin, a captain in the troops of Bavaria, accuſed of having committed an aſſaſſination by order of the Czarina.

In 1740—John Lewis Tanier, curate of St. Denis, accuſed of ſeducing women during confeſſion.

Denis Foret and four others, authors and engravers, for publiſhing a book called "The Devil's Almanac."

In 1741—The Sieur Baculart d'Arnaud, a licentious poet, author of an obſcene book (too indelicate to name); transferred to St. Lazarus.

Mademoiſelle Oilier, hawker of an obſcene book called "Le P—r de C—x.

The Sieur Prince, poſt-maſter, convicted of opening letters, and taking out the incloſed bills of exchange.

The Abbè de Noury, prieſt of the order of Cluny, implicated in the publication of Le P—r de C—x.

In 1744—The Sieur Duprè, ſecretary to M. de Chetardie, ambaſſador from France to the Court of Ruſſia: ſuſpected of betraying his truſt; but his innocence being made apparent, at the expiration of fifteen months he was liberated, with a gratification of 1500 livres from the King.

The Sieur de Monchenu, groom to his Majeſty, confined fifteen days, for wounding his ſervant with a ſword. He afterwards murdered one of his valets.

In

In 1745—The Sieur Pajot d'Ardvilliers; impriſoned at the requeſt of his family, for ill conduct and diſſipation of his fortune.

Jacob Levis, a Jew of Metz, for propoſing to betray Prince Charles Stuart to the King of England.

In 1749—The Abbè Fleuris, for forging and circulating lottery tickets: afterwards hanged at the Greve, by ſentence of the Royal Chamber of the Arſenal.

Sieur Darles de Montigny, for printing an obſcene book, called "The Philoſophical Thereſa.

John de la Caſſe, belonging to the King's wardrobe, convicted of concealing in the chapel royal at Verſailles, a whole edition of Le P—r de C—x.

In 1752—The Abbè de Monterif, dean of the cathedral of Autun, for immorality.

The Sieur Ferouillac, an enthuſiaſt, whoſe head was turned by Janſeniſm, and who would give advice to the Chamber of Parliament: transferred to the convent of the Fathers of Charity, at Senlis.

Note. At this time of religious diſputes, ſeveral Janſeniſts were confined on the ſame account.

In 1759—Bergeron, calling himſelf the Chevalier d'Eſcourville; for ſending ſcandalous verſes to the Marchioneſs de Pompadour, and offering to ſuppreſs their publication for 10000 livres: exiled fifty miles from Paris.

In

In 1760—Peter de Sauges, for printing books againſt religion.

In 1761—M. Alano, an old ſhopwoman to Madame Ancloud, bookſeller at the Palais Royal; for a book againſt religion.

In 1776—The Count Chavanne, ancient page to the Prince of Condè. He quarrelled with the Duke d'Aiguillon; which quarrel brought on a ſecond with M. de Maurepas, then all-powerful: they only anſwered M. de Chavanne, by ſending him to the Baſtile.

In 1779—Brun de Condamine. This projector communicated to M. de Sartine, a plan which would give our navy a great ſuperiority over that of England, which was to be effected by inflammable balls that could not be extinguiſhed, ſhot againſt the ſails. The miniſter ſeemed to hear him with approbation, and demanded his addreſs, which he gave him. The next day the officers of the police repaired to his houſe, put their ſeals upon his papers, and conducted him to the Baſtile: he attempted to eſcape, and by ingenuity and perſeverance ſucceeding in croſſing the great ditch; his rope-ladder giving way as he was aſcending the paſſage of the rounds, he was diſcovered, and confined in one of the dungeons during eight days.

M. Linguet.* This priſoner publiſhed an account of the Baſtile, in 1782.

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* Vide anecdote the 5th.

In

In 1782—M. de la Coſte de Mezeres, formerly an officer in the royal artillery of France, ſince ſecretary in the war department, and major of infantry in the Ruſſian ſervice, arreſted at Bruſſels, as being the author of "The general confeſſion of the Counteſs du Barri," and another work, entitled, "The Diligence; or, Free Converſation between three People not entirely Fools;" wherein he not only attacks the perſons of their Majeſties, but the princes and princeſſes, the miniſters, the magiſtrates, and every conſtituted authority.

Madame Maria Joſepha Francis, wife of Staniſlaus de la Motte; for pretending intimacy with the Queen, and perſuading thoſe who were the dupes of her artifice, that ſhe had her Majeſty's procuration.

The Marquis de Sades,* for inhuman experiments on living ſubjects.

The Marquis de Pilleport. *(See page 43.)*

Louis Renè Edward de Rohan, Cardinal, Biſhop of Straſburg, &c.

Note. The ſtory of this prelate's concern in the affair of the Necklace is well known.

Claude Cerval, an Italian, ſuppoſed to be concerned in the ſame affair.

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* Vide anecdote the 7th.

Jane de St. Remy de Valois, arreſted on the ſame account. Her huſband making his eſcape, was condemned for contumacy.

The Baron de Planta, a Swiſs, and captain in the regiment of Deiſback; John Baptiſte de la Porte, an advocate; Nicholas Grenier, a jeweller; Louis Joſeph Arnaud du Cluſſel, ſecretary of the cabinet to Madame; Alexander de Caglioſtro, a celebrated impoſtor; Seraphina, wife to Caglioſtro; with ſeveral others, implicated in the myſterious affair of the Necklace.

Anecdotes relative to particular perſons, who have been confined in the caſtle of the Baſtile.

[*Though the firſt of theſe anecdotes be only remotely, yet as it is in ſome degree connected with the hiſtory of the Baſtile, no further apology will be made for its inſertion.*]

I.—DR. BURNET.

In the latter part of Queen Anne's reign, when the celebrated Prince Eugene judged it neceſſary to viſit the Britiſh Court, Dr. Burnet, biſhop of Sarum, whoſe

whoſe curioſity was as ungovernable as that of any *other* old woman's in the kingdom, ſtrongly ſolicited the Duke of Marlborough to include him in the invitation to the next public dinner he gave the Prince. His Grace complied with the biſhop's requeſt: but as he knew Dr. Burnet was what the French call *un Etourdi*, and was afraid of his making ſome unfortunate obſervation, requeſted him to be upon his guard, which he aſſured his Grace he would, and that he need not be under any apprehenſions. All paſſed well, until the Prince being informed that the perſon oppoſite to him was Dr. Burnet, (to whoſe name and principles he was no ſtranger,) ſuddenly addreſſed his diſcourſe to him, and, amongſt other queſtions, aſked him "If he had ever been in France?" The biſhop, rather ſtartled, anſwered in the affirmative. The Prince then ſaid, "My lord, you have undoubtedly been in Paris: pray how long is it ſince you were there?" The prelate, ſtill more embarraſſed, anſwered, "He could not exactly tell, but that he remembered it was at the time when the Counteſs of Soiſſons was impriſoned." A piercing glance from the Duke brought back the biſhop's recollection, who made matters worſe by ſtammering out an aukward apology to his Highneſs, and immediately quitted the room in the utmoſt confuſion.

II.—THE

II.—THE MAN IN THE IRON MASK.*

The ſufferings of this unfortunate victim to an unknown policy, commenced in 1685, when M. St. Mars, governor of the iſle of St. Marguerite on the coaſt of Provence, received an order from Louis XIV. to build a ſecure priſon for the reception of the Iron Maſk, to which place he was removed in 1687.

The following is a deſcription of that priſon, which Father Papon had the curioſity to viſit on the 2d of February, 1778. The chamber occupied by the captive was ſmall, and was lighted by a ſingle window fronting the north, ſecured by three iron grates at an equal diſtance from each other: this window, in a wall of extraordinary thickneſs, overlooked the ſea, and was raiſed fourteen or fifteen feet above the level of the ground.

The governor treated his priſoner with the moſt profound reſpect; waited on him himſelf; and took the diſhes, at the outer door of the chamber, from the ſervants who brought them up, but were not ſuffered any nearer approach. None had ever ſeen the face of the captive. He one day thought fit to engrave his

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* L'Homme au Maſque de Fer eſt un Enigme dont chacun veut devincr le Mot.

name with a fork on a ſilver plate: a ſervant, into whoſe hands it fell, thought to make his court by carrying it to the governor: this unhappy man was deceived; being privately made away with, and the important ſecret buried with him.

Another account ſays, That the priſoner having engraved his name upon the plate, threw it out of the window, and it fell upon the beach at the foot of the tower, where it was found by a fiſherman, and carried to M. St. Mars, who, greatly aſtoniſhed at the incident, aſked the fiſherman "If he could read, and if any one had ſeen the plate in his hands?" "I cannot read, (replied the fiſherman,) and no one has ſeen the plate." The governor detained this man until he was convinced that he could *not* read, and that no one *had* ſeen the plate: he then diſmiſſed him with theſe words; "Go, (ſaid he) and thank God you were never taught to read." There is ſtrong living teſtimony to the truth of this latter account.

M. de la Motte Guerin, who had the command of this iſle and priſon in 1714, aſſures us, That M. de St. Mars treated his priſoner with the utmoſt reſpect: he was ſerved in ſilver, and waited on by the governor himſelf, who was always uncovered, and never ſat down but by his expreſs deſire. He was furniſhed with books and the moſt ſuperb cloaths, and ſeemed particularly fond of lace and fine linen.

When

When he was ill and uſed the advice and aſſiſtance of a phyſician or ſurgeon, he was forbid, under pain of death, to unmaſk; but they were at liberty, in the preſence of the governor, to feel his pulſe, or examine his tongue, which might be put forth by raiſing the lower part of the maſk. All boats were prohibited approaching the iſle, under pain of being fired on by the centinels.

After remaining in the iſle of St. Marguerite eleven years, the Man in the Iron Maſk was removed in 1698, to the Baſtile.

The priſoner, in a litter, preceded St. Mars, eſcorted by a number of armed men on horſeback. At Villeneuve-Roy, St. Mars ate with his priſoner, who ſat with his back to the caſement of the dining-room, which looked into the court-yard. The peaſants of the place, when interrogated, could not tell whether he ate with his maſk on or off; but they clearly obſerved that M. St. Mars, who was ſeated oppoſite the priſoner, had a piſtol laid on each ſide of his plate. They had only one valet de chambre to wait on them, who brought and took away the diſhes into the anti-room, carefully ſhutting the door when he entered or retired. When the priſoner croſſed the court, he always wore the black maſk on his face; but the peaſants remarked, That they could ſee his teeth and lips; that he was tall, and had grey hair. M. St. Mars ſlept in a bed near him. We never could learn whether or no he had any foreign accent in his ſpeech. The

The following particulars are taken from the manuſcript journal of Du Jonca, the King's lieutenant at the Baſtile.

"On Thurſday the 18th of September, 1698, at three in the afternoon, M. de St. Mars arrived from the iſle of Marguerite, bringing with him, in a litter, an ancient priſoner, whoſe name he told not, and whoſe face was covered with an Iron Maſk. This priſoner was lodged in the tower Baſiniere till night, when, at nine o'clock, he was conducted to the chamber in the third ſtory of the tower la Bertaudiere, which, according to particular orders given, was furniſhed with every thing neceſſary. In conducting him to the above-mentioned apartment, I was accompanied by the Sieur Roſarges, whom M. de St. Mars had brought with him, and who had orders to wait on and take charge of the priſoner."

The great regiſter confirms the journal of Du Jonca, in the following manner: viz.

Names and quality of priſoners;

Ancient priſoner from Pignerol, obliged to wear an Iron Maſk, covered with black velvet: ignorant of his name and quality.

Date of entry;

September 18th, 1698, at three in the afternoon.

Motive of detention;

Unknown.

This

This myſterious perſonage amuſed himſelf with reading, walking in his chamber, and ſometimes by playing on the guitar. Every delicacy he wiſhed for, was immediately ordered: but when he attended maſs he was given to underſtand, that death would be the conſequence of his ſpeaking, or attempting to uncover his face, the invalids who guarded him having their pieces charged with ball. An old phyſician, who had frequently attended him during illneſs, declared, That though he had examined his tongue and other part of his body, yet he had never ſeen his face; he ſaid, his voice was clear and plaintive; yet he never heard him complain of his hard fate, nor give the leaſt intimation who he was. The above naturally leads us to the reſt of Du Jonca's journal, relative to the ſudden death of this illuſtrious, but unknown perſon.

On Monday the 19th of November, 1703, the priſoner in the Iron Maſk, being taken ill after the celebration of maſs yeſterday, died this evening about ten o'clock. His death was ſo ſudden, that M. Girault, the almoner who confeſſed him on the 19th, had not time to adminiſter the ſacraments, but only to exhort him, a few minutes before his departure. He was interred on the 20th, at four in the afternoon, in the church-yard of St. Paul, (the pariſh church of the Baſtile,) under the name of Marchiali; his burial regiſter being ſigned by M. de Roſarges, major, and M. Reilh, ſurgeon-major of the Baſtile: the expenſes of his funeral amounting to 40 livres.

His

His bed, tables, chairs, and the other furniture of his chamber, were burnt, and the aſhes carried out: the ſilver diſhes and plates, and even the utenſils of copper and braſs were melted down; the plaiſter of the room was ſcratched off, till the ſtones were laid bare; the paved floor was chipped; and even the doors and window-ſhutters burnt with the reſt.

Numberleſs are the courtiers, politicians, and writers, who have hitherto vainly endeavoured to pierce through the thick cloud of darkneſs enveloping this unfortunate perſonage. By ſome he was ſuppoſed to have been a twin-brother of Louis XIV.: by others, the fruit of an illicit amour between Anne of Auſtria and Cardinal Mazarine. Voltaire imagines him to have been the Duke of Vermandois, natural ſon of Louis XIV. and the celebrated Counteſs la Valiere, who had ſo far forgot himſelf as to give a blow to the Dauphin: but the great diſparity of their ages, renders this conjecture altogether improbable.

St. Fond, who proved in the moſt ſatisfactory manner, that the Man in the Iron Maſk could neither be the Duke of Beaufort, nor the Count of Vermandois, believes him to have been the Duke of Monmouth; and this ſtrange hypotheſis he ſuſtains with a conſiderable degree of ardour. "It is certain (ſays M. St. Fond,) it was currently reported in London, that a gentleman ſtrongly reſembling the Duke, and lately ſerving in his army, being condemned to death on that

account,

account, received the propoſal of paſſing for this unfortunate nobleman, and being beheaded in his ſtead, with as much joy as though he had received a free pardon. It is added, that Monmouth eſcaping in diſguiſe, the ſentence was executed on this officer, believed to be the Duke; and that a great court lady (the Lady Wentworth,) having bribed the warden of the chapel, had his coffin opened, and his arm ſtripped, whereon was a mark by which ſhe could recogniſe him; but ſeeing none, ſtarted back, and immediately exclaimed, "This is not the Duke of Monmouth."

St. Fond adds other remarks, equally tending to impoſe upon thoſe as credulous as himſelf; but he who had confuted Voltaire with reſpect to the Count of Vermandois, was in his turn confuted by his antagoniſt, in the following manner.

"St. Fond imagines the Man in the Iron Maſk to have been the Engliſh Duke of Monmouth, the ſon of Charles II., who muſt have riſen from the dead and changed the order of time, to have occupied his place. Is it likely that James IId., who never pardoned a convicted ſtate priſoner, ſhould forgive one who attempted to wreſt the ſceptre from his hand; and that he ſhould be ſo fortunate as to find a perſon romantic enough to ſuffer a public execution, from attachment to the Duke? That after this tranſaction, the ſuperb and high-ſpirited Louis le Grand ſhould ſubmit to be a goaler to the King of England, though his in-

timate

friend: and that after the abdication of James, he ſhould do the ſame favour for William III. and his ſucceſſor Queen Anne, both of whom he deteſted, and with whom he was continually at war; and that he ſhould, during their reigns, with the utmoſt ſolicitude occupy the ſituation of a goaler, with which dignity James II. had honoured him?"

"The Duke of Monmouth was publicly beheaded between the hours of ten and twelve in the forenoon, on the 15th of July, 1685; and St. Mars relates, That the Man in the Iron Maſk was detained in the citadel of Pignerol, from 1671 to 1691; conſequently this priſoner could not be the Duke of Monmouth.

By others it was aſſerted, That the Man in the Iron Maſk was Fouquet, ſuperintendant of the finances; but it has been inconteſtibly proved, that Fouquet died in confinement at Pignerol, and was buried at Paris in 1681; whereas the maſked priſoner died at the Baſtile in 1703.

With an equal degree of probability it was aſſerted, That the Man in the Iron Maſk was a ſecretary of the petty Duke of Mantua. If ſo, why ſhould a perſon of that deſcription be treated with ſuch an extraordinary degree of reſpect, as is only paid to crowned heads or their neareſt relatives? This ſuppoſition ſtands on ſo feeble a baſis, that it is eaſily overthrown.

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The moſt probable account ſeems to be that given in the Memoirs of the Mareſchal Richelieu, in which it is aſſerted, That the ſecret was extorted from the Regent Duke of Orleans, by his *favourite* daughter, who communicated it to Richelieu, at that time her profeſſed gallant. From this detail, it ſeems the Man in the Iron Maſk was the twin brother of Louis XIV., born eight hours after him. Their father, Louis XIII., who was ſuperſtitious in an high degree, giving credit to certain impoſtors, who predicting, that ſhould the Queen be delivered of twins, the kingdom would be involved in a civil war, ordered the birth of the latter Prince to be kept a profound ſecret, and had him privately educated in the country, as the natural ſon of a perſon of diſtinction. But on the acceſſion of Louis XIV., the young man having given hints that he had made a diſcovery of his parentage, his brother being informed of it, ordered him to be impriſoned for life, and to wear a maſk to prevent his being known.

Here we ſeem to have arrived at the ſolution of this enigma: but what ſhall we conclude, when we are informed from reſpectable authority, "That the pretended Memoirs of the Duc de Richelieu are, in fact, no better than a chain of ingenious fictions, linked together by the dexterous hand of the Abbè Soulavie."

From the high conſequence attached to his confinement; the uncommon reſpect ordered to be paid him;

and the ſilence of the regiſters of the Baſtile, we cannot ſuppoſe that this celebrated priſoner could be a perſon of ordinary rank: yet when it is conſidered, as Voltaire very acutely obſerves, that no man of ſuperior ſtation was miſſing at that time, the imagination wanders in vain over an ocean of doubts, without a ſingle ſtar or pharos to direct it to the long deſired point.

At the time of his death, this remarkable perſonage was ſuppoſed to be in the 60th year of his age.

III.—FRANCIS AROUET DE VOLTAIRE.

This celebrated writer was doomed to viſit the towers of the Baſtile in the year 1716, on account of the freedom of his ſtrictures on the French adminiſtration during the Regency of the Duke of Orleans. In a ſatire called, "J'ai vu," (as remarkable for its wit as its acrimony againſt his Highneſs, and others in official ſituations under him,) the following line was particularly noticed: "J'ai vu ces maux, et je n'ai pas vingt ans," "Thoſe ills I've ſeen, though under twenty years," which anſwering nearly to the age of Voltaire, who was ſtrongly ſuſpected as being the author of other ſatirical pieces, highly obnoxious to perſons

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in power, he was in conſequence arreſted and conducted to the Baſtile, where he remained nearly a year. During three months, his confinement was cloſe, and he was denied the uſe of books and materials for writing; but after that time he was indulged in the full uſe of them, and during his abode in the caſtle, compoſed the greateſt part of the Henriade.

On the very day of his releaſe from confinement he was preſented to the Regent, who gave him a moſt flattering reception: on his Highneſs requeſting to know if M. Voltaire had any favour to aſk, the philoſopher replied, "Monſeigneur, je trouverai fort bon si sa Majeſtè voulait deſormais se charger de ma nourriture; mais je ſupplie votre Alteſse de ne plus se charger de mon logement,"—"My Lord, I ſhould be be very glad in future to eat at his Majeſty's expenſe; but I requeſt your Highneſs will not after this time give yourſelf the trouble of providing me with lodgings."

Voltaire, though quick ſighted to the errours and crimes of mankind, ſeems not to have had a preſentiment of the conſequences that aroſe from the diſſemination of the principles of himſelf and his aſſociates, when he compoſed the following *jeu d'eſprit*, on an abſurd cuſtom that formerly prevailed in England, of depriving the moſt noble of animals of its principal ornament and defence.

"Vous

" Vous fiers Anglais, et barbares que vous etes,
" Coupent les Tetes a vos Rois, et les Queues a vos betes ;
" Mais les Francais plus polis, et amant les lois,
" Laiſſent les Queues a leur betes, et les Tetes a leur Rois."*

The Engliſh, as their ſavage taſte prevails,
Behead their Kings, and dock their Horſes' Tails :
In poliſh'd France they ſpare (ſo Voltaire ſings,)
The Tails of Horſes and the Heads of Kings.

In thoſe ludicrous lines there is as much truth, as in his blaſphemous compliment to the ſubtle incendiary of America, whoſe falſe principles in the conſtruction of electrical conductors, his Majeſty's magazines at Purfleet and the city of London had nearly fatally experienced. *Voltaire on Dr. Franklin.* " Eripuit fulmen Jovis et Sceptrum Tyrannis."

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* This thought is more gravely and virulently treated by the French ſatiriſt, Boileau, in his Ode againſt the Engliſh.

" Quoi ! ce peuple aveugle en ſon crime,
" Qui prenant ſon Roi pour victime
" Fit du Trône un Théâtre affreux ;
" Penſe-t'il que le Ciel, complice
" D'un ſi fineſte ſacrifice,
" N'a pour lui ni foudre ni feux ?"

O ! you who ſtain'd the Throne with blood,
And there the guiltleſs Victim ſlew ;
Think ye that Heaven, all juſt and good,
Has no avenging bolt for you?

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The French nation has witneſſed the effects of the doctrines of Voltaire, Rouſſeau, Condorcet, and other ſupporters of irreligion and anarchy; when the peſtiferous breath of a frantic and blood-thirſty tyrant could command them to diſbelieve the exiſtence of a Supreme Being, and ſhortly after with the ſame breath, under pain of the guillotine, order the *Sovereign People* to return to the rational creed of their anceſtors. No wonder, that after ſuffering the various evils of a cruel and unſtable ſyſtem of government, they ſhould tamely ſit down under a deſpotiſm more arbitary than that of the moſt abſolute Prince of the Houſe of Bourbon. How futile do the writings of thoſe *ſoi-diſant* philoſophers appear, when compared with the ſolid truths promulgated by one of the greateſt ornaments of Britain, in the following words: "A *little* philoſophy maketh men apt to forget God, as attributing too much to ſecond cauſes; but *depth* of philoſophy, bringeth men back to God again." *Vide Life of Lord Bacon.*

IV.—DUC DE RICHELIEU.

The Duc de Richelieu was born in 1696; and (which may appear extraordinary, when we conſider the great age he attained, notwithſtanding his voluptuous courſe of life,) his mother was delivered of him

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in the ſixth month of her pregnancy, at which time he was ſo very ſmall and tender, that inſtead of being clothed, he was for ſome months wrapped up in cotton. He made his firſt appearance at court in 1710, where he acquired the good graces of the ladies, and was married againſt his inclination to the daughter of the Marquis de Noailles, but was ſoon after confined for fourteen months in the Baſtile, on account of an amour with the young Ducheſs of Burgundy: on his releaſe he was ſent into the army, where he made his firſt campaign under Mareſchal Villars.

The ſecond and third times of his confinement in that fortreſs, were occaſioned by an intercepted correſpondence he had carried on with the court of Spain.

He was in his 60th year, when Fort St. Philip and the iſland of Minorca ſurrendered to him; and died at a very advanced age.

V.—MONSIEUR LINGUET.

This gentleman, on his releaſe from the Baſtile, publiſhed an highly coloured deſcription of that priſon, univerſally read and believed; to which was ſubjoined an erroneous plan of the building.

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Of this author and his publication, (in the notes on the life of Voltaire, ſuppoſed to be drawn up by a noble friend,) we find the following remarks.

"It is my duty to tell the public, that this caſtle, terrible as it is, by no means reſembles that Baſtile, which Linguet has deſcribed in a violent fit of reſentment. This man, during the ſtay he made in it, was what he always has been through life, unſociable, peeviſh, and never ſpeaking but to quarrel with thoſe who were about him in any capacity.

"The work he publiſhed on the Baſtile, after he was releaſed from it, would have made a very ſenſible impreſſion upon the mind of Louis XVI., whoſe heart is good, had he ſpoken with moderation and truth.—But he *lied* in eſſential things, as well as in thoſe which are not ſo; and this is perhaps the reaſon why his work failed of ſucceſs.

"He has *lied* in ſpeaking of the walls, which he ſays are 12 feet thick; whereas they are only 6.

"He has *lied*, in ſpeaking of the food of the priſoners, which he aſſerts is only four ounces of meat a day. This is falſe: I can even affirm that they will always be well fed there, when the miniſter who has the department, following the example of him who now fills it, will condeſcend to look into it.

"He has *lied*, in ſpeaking of the daily allowance of wood given to each priſoner in winter. "He

"He has *lied*, in affirming that they poiſon thoſe whom they wiſh to get rid of.

"He has *lied*, in inſinuating that they had murdered a perſon underneath his room.

"He has *lied*, in ſpeaking of the officers who compoſe the ſtaff of the eſtabliſhment. There is not any one of them but who had the croſs of St. Louis before his having an appointment in the Baſtile. One ſhould ſpeak truth, even when in anger.

"Under the preſent reign, it is no longer what it was in former times. The number of priſoners coming in or going out, now amounts to no more than eight or nine perſons a year: of which number are: 1. One or two criminals, whom the clemency of the King has ſaved from the law and from death. 2. Two or three wretches, ſuſpected of pilfering, in handling the King's revenues, and whoſe perſons are ſecured till they are delivered up to juſtice, if guilty; or acquitted, if innocent. 3. Four or five daubers of paper, who call themſelves authors." *Vide Life of Voltaire, publiſhed by Beckt in* 1787.

VI.—MADAME

VI.—MADAME GOTTEVILLE.

[*This lady whoſe adventures appear below, ſeems, as a political and licentious writer, to rank in the ſame claſs with the Manleys and Behns of this country, whoſe names have been damned to everlaſting fame by the pens of Pope and Swift.*]

Madame Gotteville was under the *protection* of Monſieur de la Touche Treville, though ſhe had previouſly eſpouſed an officer in the royal navy.

She played a capital part amongſt the upper rank of courtezans in Paris, and was more celebrated than any other Lais of the capital. The keenneſs of her wit and her eccentricities, kept her a long time in faſhion: her tongue (it was ſaid) reſembled in its actions and effects, the paw of a monkey. There was ſcarcely a nobleman of gallantry who had not ſolicited the honour of ſupping with her. M. le Noir, lieutenant of the police, honoured her with his patronage, as by ladies of this claſs he learned, in a great meaſure, what was paſſing in Paris.

The want of economy in Madame Gotteville was equal to her wit, ſo that her houſhold eſtabliſhment was ſubject to continual variation No order in her

affairs, no ſettlement procured from any of her lovers; to-day occupying a ſuite of magnificent apartments,—to-morrow the tenant of a garret: one day three or four raſcally lacqueys awaiting her orders; on the next every ſervant diſcharged, and the lady herſelf obiged to perform the moſt menial offices for want of a chamber-maid.

When her creditors were in ſearch of her, a mendicant friar (who was likewiſe her phyſician,) took a turn to the police amongſt her old friends and cuſtomers, and commonly returned with fifty louis d'ors: at length all reſources failing, ſhe communicated a plan to Beaumarchais, the miniſter, one of her former friends, which meeting with his approbation, ſhe quitted Paris for Holland. As it was neceſſary for perſons in her ſituation to have an enlarged correſpondence, ſhe ſoon formed the neceſſary connexions, and this good friend of Madame Gotteville, by earneſt ſolicitations, both perſonal and epiſtolary, procured for her, amongſt her former acquaintance, a decent ſtipend, which he regularly remitted to her by inſtalments. She ſettled at the Hague; and having purchaſed a printing-preſs, occaſionally employed it in politics, in divulging the private concerns of families of conſequence, and in lampoons; the *laudable* employment in the foregoing age, of the celebrated Dunoyer.

Theſe reſources were ſtill inſufficient; and M. Beaumarchais finding her political intelligence trifling, and

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little uſe to government, caſt her off: this reduced her to the neceſſity of applying to Monſieur le Noir, who with his uſual compaſſion for one of the fair-ſex in diſtreſs, remitted her, at different times, above 6000 livres.

But generoſity has its bounds; and Madame Gotteville ceaſing to receive theſe remittances from the police, ſhe wrote to Mareſchal de Richelieu, as to an old *cher ami*, acquainting him, that all means of ſubſiſtence having failed, ſhe had nothing left for her ſupport but the publication of the ſeventy-four Adventures of Methuſalem, a work (as ſhe adroitly obſerved,) likely to amuſe the world and repleniſh her purſe. The Mareſchal, who knew he was deſignated under the character of Methuſalem, haſtened to acquaint M. le Noir with this new trick of Madame Gotteville, and requeſted he would order M. Beaumarchais to ſend her 25 louis d'ors.

The anſwer which ſhe ſent to Beaumarchais was conceived in theſe terms: "I ſend you this letter, to acquaint you that I have received 25 louis on the part of Mareſchal Richelieu, and to expreſs to you, ſir, the contempt with which I am your humble ſervant." V. G.

Madame de Gotteville being in a free country, was a perſon, with her preſs, her wants, and her wit, juſtly to be feared by the French government. It was therefore in agitation to arreſt her, with the conſent

of

of the Dutch authority (which might be eaſily obtained,) according to the advice of her former friend, M. Beaumarchais.

Prior to this, Madame Gotteville engaged in a quarrel with a lady at the Hague, who was ſaid to live on terms of great familiarity with M. Lavauguyon, the French ambaſſador: ſhe pretended to have been groſsly inſulted by this lady, and revenged herſelf by publiſhing a pamphlet expreſſed with great bitterneſs. The ambaſſador degraded himſelf by engaging in this ridiculous conteſt, and wrote to M. de Maurepas, to make complaint of the proceedings of Madame Gotteville: he repreſented to that miniſter, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the diſadvantages which might attend his negociations, ſhould this extraordinary woman be ſuffered to remain longer at large.

M. de Noir immediately received orders for her ſeizure: the States of Holland, at the requiſition of the French ambaſſador, having given their conſent, Recevoir, inſpector of the police, had charge of this expedition, and poor Madame Gotteville made a very rapid journey from the land of liberty to the chambers of the Baſtile. The interview ſhe had with her old friend M. le Noir on the day of her arrival, was by no means a gloomy one, but was paſſed in witticiſms and pleaſantry.

Next morning, the commiſſary Chenon, with Boucher, ſecretary of the police, arrived in order to proceed

ceed to the examination of her papers. Boucher wiſhed to begin with her letters:—"Theſe, ſir, (ſays ſhe) contain the various correſpondence I have had with people of rank, and I forbid you to touch them."—This ſingular prohibition gave riſe to a long and vehement altercation; but Boucher took a letter and unfolded it: the lady, ſpringing from her ſeat, flew on the ſecretary, ſnatched off his peruke, calling him the raſcally Valet of Sabatin, and then boxing his ears, kicked him round the room; after which ſhe ſeized on the letters and threw them into the fire. Mr. Secretary, thus brought to reaſon by a ſmart cuffing, was glad to retire; and Chenon, who had been highly amuſed with this heroi-comic ſcene, continued his operations alone.

Madame de Gotteville continued above a year in the Baſtile: during her ſtay, ſhe had frequent quarrels with M. de Launay, the governor, whom ſhe held in utter contempt. Once being at high words with him concerning her table allowance, which ſhe found great fault with,—to terminate the diſcuſſion, ſhe fixed her eyes upon him, and with great *ſang froid* ſaid, "M. de Launay, I know not of what deſcription of beings you may be, and am therefore embarraſſed how to anſwer you: but pray tell me, as you know not what good victuals are, Are you not one of thoſe long-eared ſtupid animals that feed upon hay?"

De Launay quitted the field; but the pleaſanteſt

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part of the adventure was, that on this very evening, when the governor entered his bed, he found a ſmall bundle of hay inſtead of a bolſter. Who ſhould dare to place it there? His valet, who was ſeverely threatened, denied any knowledge of it. The reſearches of M. de Launay were uſeleſs; he therefore let the ſubject drop, leſt the wits of the capital, hearing of the quarrel, ſhould amuſe themſelves with this unfortunate bundle of hay.

This remarkable character, on her diſcharge from the Baſtile, was conducted to the convent la Fleche, there to remain. She ſolicited in vain to have her printing-preſs returned, which was detained in the caſtle.

VII.—M. LE COMTE DE LALLY.

This unfortunate officer fell a ſacrifice to the imbecility of an abandoned miniſtry, and the revenge of his rivals. He had been accuſed of betraying the intereſts of his country to the Engliſh in the Eaſt Indies; when the general tenour of his conduct, and particularly the language of his intercepted letters, when governor of Pondicherry, muſt have convinced even his enemies of the invincible antipathy he had conceived againſt the Britiſh nation. His accuſation was urged with ran-

cour,

cour, and his trial conducted with the moſt ſhameful difregard of juſtice. After ſentence of death had paſſed, he was lodged and ſtrongly guarded in one of the worſt dungeons of the Conciergerie; being placed on the ſtool of criminality, he was diveſted of his ribbon and croſs of St. Louis with every mark of ignominy, and ſoon after ſuffered at the Greve, to which common place of execution he was conveyed in a cart, and to the utter aſtoniſhment of the people, with a gag in his mouth. Such was the end of the eventful life of Count Lally, whoſe fame his enemies, by every means of malice and ingenuity had repeatedly endeavoured to blacken, and ſucceeded in deceiving the world, till his ſon, Count Lally de Tolendal, armed with the weapons of truth, with the energetic warmth of filial piety combated, and conquered the demon of falſhood that had too long triumphed; thus reſcuing the memory of an highly injured father from the injuſtice done it.

A ſimilar caſe has been known in our own country, when a weak and irreſolute miniſtry, after a ſeries of miſcarriages, endeavoured to divert the juſt indignation of an exaſperated people from the proper objects of reſentment, by the ſacrifice of an officer who acted under their directions; whoſe character, previous to his trial, they endeavoured to render deteſtable by the vileſt of arts, employing every literary mercenary that would inliſt under their banners, from the deiſtical ſycophant

cophant* to the loweſt compoſer of popular ballads: but the hand of impartial diſcernment now holds the balance that does juſtice to the character of that miniſtry, and the reputation of Admiral Byng.

VIII.—THE SIEUR D'ARGENT.

The Sieur Dargent, vice-conſul for Spain, was born at Amiens, in Picardy, and reſided at the Hotel of the three biſhops at Paris.

Dargent, whoſe family had been engaged in commerce, was at an early age made acquainted with buſineſs. On his return from Spain, he was charged with a commercial tranſaction between Monſieur Neckar and his native city. Soon after his arrival at Paris, he plunged into the moſt unbounded luxury, attaching himſelf to Mademoiſelle Colombè, an actreſs at the Italian theatre, who at that time was in the higheſt vogue, and ſhe was equally attached to him, he being a young man of a fine figure and moſt engaging converſation.

The ſtyle in which they lived requiring conſtant

* David Mallet.

ſupplies

ſupplies, he was tempted to practiſe forgeries, to a very conſiderable amount, not ſcrupling to affix the ſignature of the comptroller-general and his ſecretaries to various government ſecurities. Thoſe forgeries, multiplied to the amount of ſixty actions, of 1200 livres each, cauſed conſiderable alarm amongſt the merchants and monied men: the ſatellites of the police were quickly put upon the ſcent; and theſe tranſactions being diſcovered, Dargent and his agents were committed to the Baſtile.

Mademoiſelle Colombè, through the ſtrange indulgence of M. le Noir, had acceſs to her lover in his priſon; who after a fair trial being convicted on the cleareſt evidence, received ſentence of death.

Dargent entertaining no hopes of pardon, endeavoured to effect his eſcape, which he attempted in the following manner.

Pretending illneſs, he laid down, dreſſed, upon his bed, with a white night-cap upon his head, an apron before him, and the curtains drawn cloſely round him. The turnkey who came to put his room in order, ſeeing his ſlippers ſtanding by his bed-ſide, and ſuppoſing him aſleep, retired without cloſing his door, leſt he ſhould diſturb him. Dargent profiting by the abſence of his guard, ſoon aroſe, and treading lightly, quitted his chamber, gliding down the winding ſtaircaſe, at the bottom of which he found a baſket of empty bottles; taking the baſket under his arm, he was ſuffered

to pafs the firft centinel, who fuppofing him a fervant belonging the kitchens, opened him the gate. He as eafily paffed by another centinel; had now croffed the great bridge, and was in the court of government, when an invalid officer obferving his agitation, and judging him a prifoner attempting to efcape, ordered him to be ftopped. The cry, To Arms! was quickly fpread: the whole etat-major was in movement; the centinels and turnkeys were arrefted: M. le Noir appeared, and they were ftrictly interrogated; the refult of which was, That Monfieur Dargent having a natural averfion to the gallows, had endeavoured to effect his efcape from the Baftile.

His relations in Picardy being numerous, and highly refpected in that province, repaired in a body to Paris, and having procured letters of recommendation to many perfons of high rank at court, were admitted (all in deep mourning,) into a gallery of the palace: on their Majefties paffing by them, they proftrated themfelves to the royal prefence, and in pathetic terms implored for mercy on their unfortunate relation.—This affecting interview was attended with the defired fuccefs: the King granted the criminal his life, but condemned him to a perpetual prifon, and he was removed to that of St. Yonne.

Upon this fubject a public queftion may be agitated, Not whether the Sovereign has a right to fhew mercy, but how far the Executive Power ought to

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diſpenſe with ſtrict juſtice? Rouſſeau, in 1762, puts this queſtion rather doubtfully, (perhaps in our days he would have been leſs circumſpect,) where he ſays, *When pardons are become frequent, the time is at hand when they will no longer be neceſſary.*

M. Vattel, who has written ſo elegantly and juſtly on affairs relative to the public, thinks, That a Prince may exerciſe his prerogative of mercy, when it can be done without injury to any one; but certainly, by ſcreening a criminal from juſtice, an injury is committed againſt the whole body politic. Is not an act of clemency to a particular perſon, an act of injuſtice to ſociety in general? Not to puniſh one who is culpable, is inviting an hundred to become ſo.

We cannot cloſe this article without relating the treatment Mademoiſelle Colombè experienced from the public. Thinking her guilty of ſeducing the unhappy young man from the paths of rectitude and honour, they compelled her, on the day her lover received ſentence of death, to perform the part of Belinda, in an opera; which was rendered more diſtreſſing to her, as the dramatic character ſhe had to ſuſtain, was that of a guilty wretch, forſaken and reduced to deſpair.

In this reſpect the public acted the part of a ſevere and unrelenting judge: but was it really unjuſt, in compelling her to appear that night on the ſtage? Their cenſure was directed to the courtezan, whoſe

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arts are generally employed in the ſeduction of youth, and eventually the cauſe of numerous crimes, both public and private: but if the audience were juſt in condemning her as a courtezan, they were not leſs ſo in praiſing her theatrical talents, and rewarding her exertions with the moſt unbounded applauſe. *Vide Dr. Dodds's Trial, &c.*

IX.—THE MARQUIS DE SADES.

This gentleman was firſt confined at Vincennes, afterwards in the Baſtile, for inhuman experiments on living ſubjects. Had he remained in the caſtle a month longer, he had been liberated with the reſt of the priſoners on the 14th of July; but on account of a diſturbance he made in the priſon, he was transferred to Charenton. The following account of that diſturbance was given by Loſſingnotte, his attendant turnkey. At a certain time of day, the Marquis was allowed to take the air on the platform of the caſtle: as the tumults in Paris were increaſing every hour, the governor was under the neceſſity of redoubling his precautions of having the cannon charged, and of courſe, reſtraining all priſoners from the promenade on the towers. M. de Sades was not ſatisfied with the reaſons given for this reſtraint, and falling into a paſſion,

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ſwore he would raiſe an alarming confuſion if Loſſing-notte did not bring a more favourable reply to his requeſt from the governor. M. de Launay being firm in his refuſal, the Marquis ſeized a large globular pewter balon, (to which was faſtened a long tin pipe that ſerved to convey the dirty water from his apartment into the caſtle-ditch,) and directing it through the bars of his window, which overlooked the ſuburbs of St. Antho-ny, uſed it as a ſpeaking trumpet: he exerted his voice to the utmoſt in crying out, Murder! and That de Launay and his people were attempting to cut his throat. A large croud ſoon aſſembled, and heard him utter the moſt violent invectives againſt the go-vernor: he earneſtly requeſted them to haſten to his reſcue, and ſave him from aſſaſſination. De Lau-nay in a rage deſpatched a courier to Verſailles, and the next day an order arrived for his removal to Cha-renton.

His wife, who is ſtill living, came frequently to viſit him in the Baſtile. Several ſuits of laced cloaths and ſome fancy dreſſes, were found in his chamber, which he brought from Vincennes; but we are igno-rant of the uſe he made of them. He likewiſe new-furniſhed his room, and had it hung with tapeſtry.

X.—MADAME

X.—MADAME WALLARD.

This lady, aged 28 years, was born at Paris, and married to the Sieur Cahouet de Villers, treaſurer to the King's houſhold. She was extremely volatile and fond of dreſs; had an acquaintance with one Mademoiſelle Bertin, a milliner, whoſe taſte in the articles of female decoration was allowed to be ſuperior to any other perſon's in the ſame line in Europe; and who was ſuppoſed to be patronized by the Queen and the ladies of the Royal Family. Madame Cahouet ſent a note to this perſon, in the name of her Majeſty, commanding her to ſend a large quantity of certain articles of dreſs to a particular place: the forgery being diſcovered, the Queen was informed of it: the conſequence was, that the culprit was reprimanded and pardoned: but inſtead of profiting by this lenity, Madame Cahouet had the indiſcretion again to counterfeit the hand-writing and ſignature of the Queen, to a much larger amount; but her Majeſty was not informed of this ſecond attempt, or the infatuated lady might have received a repeated pardon. Not yet content, and eager to procure ſupplies for her extravagance, all means were indifferent to her, provided money could be obtained: taking a fancy to an eſtate in the country belonging to one of the farmers-general; to perſuade him to part with it greatly under the value, ſhe ſhew-

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ed him forged letters, with the ſignature of the Queen, promiſing him, on complying with Madame Cahout's requeſt, her Majeſty's eſpecial protection. Detection quickly followed theſe flagrant inſtances of diſhoneſty and indiſcretion; M. de Maurepas being informed of this latter circumſtance, thought it high time to interfere: the lady was accordingly arreſted, committed to the Baſtile, and lodged in the tower la Comtè.

Her huſband was ſo highly exaſperated by her conduct, that he forbad her name to be mentioned in his preſence, and refuſed her the leaſt aſſiſtance. This treatment brought her to deſpondency, and her health ſuffering by confinement, ſhe was releaſed and ſent to the convent of the nuns of St. Thomas, where ſhe ſoon after died.

XI.—VICTOR CLAUDE ANTOINE ROBERT, COMTE DE PARADES.

This man, being of an ardent ſpirit and an enterpriſing ſoul, by the eceentricity of his character divided the opinion of the world. By ſome he was ſuppoſed equal to the higheſt enterpriſes; while others regarded him as a deſperate adventurer: but by his wit and the lively diſplay of his talents, he had gained the confidence

confidence of M. de Sartine and the Count de Maurepas, who afterwards employed him in the moſt dangerous attempts.

Towards the cloſe of the year 1774, Paradès completed his tour through Switzerland and the Lower Valais, where making himſelf agreeable to ſeveral perſons of ſcience and diſtinction, he was employed as an engineer; in which capacity he formed the ſuperb project of opening, by means of a canal from the Rhone, a communication between Geneva and the Vicentin, the object of which was to render France miſtreſs of an immenſe commerce. This plan was laid before the Marquis de Vergennes, then ambaſſador to the Swiſs Cantons, who judging it of the higheſt importance, ſent the projector, with letters of recommendation, to the Comte de Vergennes at Paris, where he arrived early in the year 1778, and took the title of the Comte de Paradès, for the firſt time.

Unfortunately for the kingdom of France, and the honour and advantage of the engineer, this ſcheme was laid aſide: but France then being in a ſtate of fermentation, in expectancy of a war with England, Paradès entertained hopes of being once more actively employed. Having well weighed the probabilities of his future fortune, he reſolved to paſs over into England, to acquire an accurate knowledge of the ſtrength of Great-Britain; of her forces by ſea and land; of her maritime fortifications; with ſuch other information as might form the baſis of his future exaltation.

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He put his deſign into execution, and early in February arrived in England, where he viſited all the principal towns; examining every thing worthy notice, and digeſting his remarks into a memorial, with which he arrived at Paris in March. This memorial was preſented to M. de Sartine, who praiſing his zeal expreſſed his ſatisfaction, and recommended another journey into England, entirely for the purpoſe of procuring correct plans of every ſea-port; to learn the ſeparate ſtations of the Britiſh navy; the number of ſhips of war ready for ſea, with thoſe refitting and building; the condition of the magazines and dock-yards; and, in ſhort, of every thing connected with the Engliſh maritime reſources.

Paradès accordingly quitted Verſailles a ſecond time, and ſoon after arrived in England, where he moſt ſtrictly fulfilled his commiſſion: he then returned to Paris, and was ſtill more warmly received by the miniſters of France.

M. de Sartine wiſhing to eſtabliſh faithful agents (or rather ſpies,) at every port of conſequence, ſent Paradès a third time to England with 25000 livres, to be properly diſpoſed of. This indefatigable partizan, after ſeveral diſappointments, at length diſcovered a perſon who exactly ſuited his purpoſe; and this perſon agreed to procure him all the information he required, on condition of receiving a ſtated ſum as a depoſit, and 100l. ſterling per month. All being agreed

on, this traitor to his country introduced him to two Jews, in whom (he ſaid) Paradès might confide, and with whom he ſet off for London; a journey more intereſting, but infinitely more dangerous, than the two he had undertaken before.

By means of theſe conductors, and the letters of recommendation he was furniſhed with, (added to a complete knowledge of the Engliſh language,) Paradès got admittance into every place he wiſhed to viſit. He received invitations to dine from perſons entruſted with the dock-yards, and other places of importance; where every movement was cloſely obſerved by him, and privately noted down.

An adventure he met with in his third tour to Plymouth is ſo extraordinary, that it deſerves recording, and ſhall be given in his own words.

"We entered Plymouth at midnight, and though I had taken no reſt during ſeveral days, yet I declined going to bed. My deſign was to reconnoitre by break of day the citadel, which I had only imperfectly viewed in my two laſt voyages.

"I took as my conductor, a labourer whom I met in the ſtreet, and arrived at the glacis a little after the opening of the gates. The two firſt centinels ſuffered us to paſs freely, and when we had entered the place, I turned to the left up the ſlope that leads to the ramparts: having quickly traverſed thoſe parts of the for-

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tification that overlook the country, I repaired to the ſaliant angle of the baſtion on the right of the road, where I took ſuch ſketches as were neceſſary. In about an hour, I wiſhed to change my ſituation to the left baſtion; but in paſſing along the curtain, (for it is neceſſary to obſerve that no centinel is placed on the rampart in the whole circuit of the place,) I was obſerved by a ſoldier mounting guard at a ſhort diſtance; this centinel, aſtoniſhed to ſee two ſtrangers on the ramparts at ſo early an hour, and whom he had not obſerved to paſs, alarmed thoſe at the guard-houſe: a ſergeant and two fuſileers approaching directly towards me, nothing remained but to ſet a good face on the matter. I therefore leiſurely deſcended the ſlope from the ramparts, as though my walk had been finiſhed, and met them on the plain: the ſergeant demanded my buſineſs in that place, where I ought to know that entrance is forbidden. I replied, That being a ſtranger, I was ignorant of the prohibition; and that the man who was my conductor ought to have informed me of it, as he belonged to the town and might be expected to know how far it was proper to go. "Seize the raſcal (cries the ſergeant,) and convey him to the guard-houſe." The ſoldiers ſeized my conductor by the collar and were dragging him along, when I immediately pulled out ſix guineas and preſented them to the ſergeant, ſaying in a low voice, "Let this poor devil go; he has done wrong to be ſure, but it is through ignorance." He pocketed my money, and

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turning to the ſoldiers, called aloud, "Drive that raſcal out, and take care he comes here no more." Afterwards addreſſing himſelf to me in a ſoftened tone, he ſaid, "Perhaps your honour would wiſh to ſee the fortreſs; if ſo, I will conduct you over it; I will only leave my fuſil at the guard-houſe, and be with you in a moment." Placing no great confidence in his word, I got rid of my papers by thruſting them into the mouth of a cannon I ſeemingly examined; but I had no cauſe for diſtruſt: my friend the ſergeant, after eſcorting me twice round the ramparts, deſcended with me into the batteries that command the Sound and the entrances of Catwater and Hamoaze; the moſt complete works of their kind I ever beheld.

"After remaining nine hours in the citadel, where I took notes of all I ſaw, I thought it time to retire; the ſergeant accompanying me to my inn, I there gratified him with a preſent of two guineas more for his trouble. He then took leave, after aſſuring me, That he ſhould be devoted to me as long as he lived. Previouſly to this I had withdrawn my papers from the cannon, finding that the danger was over. It will be ſeen in the ſequence of what further utility this man was of to me, and with what fidelity he ſerved me.

"I found my two Jews at the inn, greatly alarmed at my long abſence; and as the object of our journey was completely accompliſhed, we immediately ſet out for London."

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So far M. Paradès; whoſe agent, not leſs active than himſelf, had made an agreement with a perſon diſaffected to government and overwhelmed with debts, for the uſe of his veſſel, which was to be under the direction and at the diſpoſal of the French miniſtry, on the conditions of the Owner's receiving 800l. ſterling per month, and the produce of all captures from the French and Americans.

This veſſel was occaſionally employed by Paradès as a contrabandier or ſmuggler, under which deſcription he got acquainted with the officers of Hurſt Caſtle and landed two cargoes of ſpirits at the garriſon; by which means he made himſelf fully acquainted with the ſtrength of that key to the Needles, and conceived the project of deſtroying the Britiſh fleet at Spithead, by ſending fireſhips through this paſſage, and alſo others from the eaſtward from St. Helens, ſo as to attack the fleet at each extremity: this plan was fruſtrated by the envy of his rivals, who, jealous of his credit with the miniſter of marine, pretended to demonſtrate the impracticability of this ſcheme, which was in conſequence laid aſide.

Paradès having received advice from his truſty agent, that orders were iſſued for the equipment of twelve ſail of the line at Plymouth, under the command of Admiral Byron, whoſe deſtination was America, deſpatched a courier to inform M. de Sartine: though the deſtination of this armament was kept ſecret, Pa-

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radès found means to inform the French miniſter of the progreſs made in its fitting out, and the day that was fixed for its departure.

The Engliſh miniſter having received advice of the ſailing of 25 ſhips of war from Breſt, was afraid they had quitted that port with an intention of attacking Byron's ſquadron; in conſequence of which orders were deſpatched to Admiral Keppel to ſail immediately, with ſuch ſhips as were then ready, to reconnoitre the French fleet, but not to engage without urgent neceſſity; to favour, by his manœuvres, the progreſs of Byron, and not to loſe ſight of the enemy till he was ſure Byron had gained a ſecure diſtance in the Atlantic; after which he was to return to Portſmouth, where all the ſhips at that port were preparing for ſea with the utmoſt deſpatch.

Paradès had judged of the deſtination of theſe two Britiſh armaments, though it was kept ſecret in England, by Byron's ſquadron being quite complete and victualled for ſeven months; whereas Keppel's had proviſions for only twenty days, and was greatly deficient in its complement of men; and time evinced that he judged right.

His advices and conduct were ſo ſatisfactory to M. de Sartine, that he promiſed him a penſion of 6000 livres from the King, to prompt him to further exertion.

Admiral

Admiral Keppel having ſailed from Portſmouth purſuant to his orders, in queſt of the French fleet, fell in with it in the Channel; but as his orders were not to engage, he kept at a certain diſtance.

The two fleets remained ſeveral days in ſight of each other. The Count d'Orvilliers made no preparations for attack, fearing to engage 32 ſail of the line, inſtead of 20, as he had expected; and becauſe he wanted confidence in the accounts with which Paradès ſupplied him: ſo while thoſe two fleets were watching each others motions, Byron's ſquadron eſcaped into the Weſtern ocean. Keppel having fully executed his orders, returned to Portſmouth, carrying with him the two French frigates Pallas and Licorne, which were taken by advancing too near to reconnoitre.

From this diſtruſt of Paradès, the time for attacking either of theſe ſquadrons ſingly, and preventing Admiral Byron fulfilling his miſſion, was irretrievably loſt, and its conſequences felt during the whole courſe of the war.

Paradès remained only two days at Verſailles, then returned to London, where finding his veſſel completely equipped, he took the command of her, ſailed from the Thames to Spithead, where he anchored near the Engliſh fleet.

The Eaſt-India company having received advice, by a ſwift-ſailing cutter deſpatched from a large and rich

fleet

fleet belonging them, that they might then be in soundings, an expreſs was forwarded to Admiral Keppel, with orders to put to ſea with the ſhips under his command without delay, for the ſafeguard of this valuable fleet, and to ſecure its entrance into the Engliſh ports by every means in his power, but to avoid engaging the enemy, except defenſively.

In the mean time cutters were deſpatched to this fleet, with orders to its commanders to keep at a diſtance from the coaſt till joined by Admiral Keppel, or aſſured from him that the paſſage was clear.

Advice of this was immediately ſent by Paradès to M. de Sartine, and the French fleet under d'Orvilliers put inſtantly to ſea.

Keppel ſailed from Portſmouth on the 10th of July, 1778, with 25 ſail of the line, and being joined by three more off Plymouth, his fleet conſiſted of 28 ſhips of the line of battle.

This fleet was attended and cloſely watched by Paradès in his veſſel of 14 guns, under Engliſh colours, furniſhed with ſuitable ſignals to appriſe d'Orvilliers of every movement of conſequence.

The Engliſh and French fleets diſcovered each other in the entrance of the Channel, but the N. E. winds drove them conſiderably to the weſtward: the Britiſh admiral uſed every practicable manœuvre to favour the

paſſage

paſſage of the India ſhips. On the 27th of July, the two fleets approaching each other, an indeciſive engagement enſued: the Count d'Orvilliers then threw out the ſignal for action, which brought on a general engagement, that continued the greateſt part of the day; after which both fleets ſeparated, without much damage on either ſide. On the morning of the 28th, the Eaſt-India fleet paſſed over the ſcene of action, and entered the Channel in ſight of ſeveral French veſſels, which had been diſabled in the combat. This fleet would inevitably have been taken, had the French ſquadron, or even a diviſion of it, continued on the ſtation twenty-four hours longer.

The campaign being now nearly finiſhed, the Count Paradès, unwilling to remain idle, turned his thoughts towards Plymouth: he accordingly ſet ſail for that place and anchored in the Sound, under a pretence of wanting proviſions: he went on ſhore profeſſedly to procure neceſſaries, and immediately repairing to the citadel, ſoon recognized his old friend the ſergeant, whom he invited on board his ſhip, which invitation was next day eagerly accepted. Paradès gave the ſergeant ten guineas and half a dozen bottles of brandy; and after ſome artful circumlocution, made him a direct offer of fifty guineas, if he would aſſiſt in *tranſferring* the citadel of Plymouth into the power of the French King; and if that could be effected by his means, the Count would inſure to him the payment of 10000l. ſterling.

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The ſergeant, whoſe feelings had been artfully wrought upon, by a compariſon between the penury and ſubordination of his preſent life and the independent opulence that awaited him, (in addition to the ſplendid preſents he had received,) was prepared for ſome ſuch like offer, but trembled at the greatneſs of the danger he had to encounter. Paradès did not give him time to reflect; but putting into his hands a ſolemn promiſe in writing, in the name of the French King, for the 100001., made him completely his own.

The *honeſt* ſergeant then received his inſtructions; which were, to form a cloſe intimacy with the keeper of the colours, and by acting with caution, to gain him if poſſible; next, the porter of the gate, which might be eaſily accompliſhed, he being a particular intimate of the ſergeant; but above all, the keeper of the ſignals, on whom no expenſe was to be ſpared: Paradès, ſtrongly enjoining prudence and ſecrecy, ſaw his friend ſafely on ſhore, and two days after quitting Plymouth, arrived in a ſhort time at Breſt.

After delivering to the marine miniſter details of his proceedings, M. Paradès was gratified with a brevet, dated the 31ſt of Auguſt, 1779, appointing him a captain of cavalry, with a penſion of 10000 livres.

The Count then returned to London, where he arrived on the 18th of September; from thence he went

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in a poſt-chaiſe to Plymouth, and found the flag-keeper and porter entirely gained over to his intereſt ; for by means of a lodger and friend of the keeper, a copy of all the friendly ſignals was procured : to each of thoſe perſons was aſſigned a penſion of 25l. per month.

The ſergeant then undertook, ſhould the enterprize be attempted, that the great gate ſhould be ſhut, but not locked ; the ſame was to be done at the poſtern in the angle of the baſtion, through which the troops might defile : he likewiſe engaged to ſpike the cannon. After which Paradès, with a handſome remuneration, once more took leave of his friends.

After making a tour to Briſtol and the weſtern ſea-ports, where he exerciſed his uſual adroitneſs in gaining uſeful information, Paradès again preſented his memorials to M. de Sartine, who called a council of the miniſtry to take into conſideration the probable advantages that might reſult from putting his plans into execution ; and whether it would not be for the intereſt of the ſtate, to take immediate advantage of the negligence of the enemy.

Though the Count's plans were approved of by a part, others thought ſome of his narrations almoſt incredible, and his propoſitions of too romantic a caſt. After much debate it was at length reſolved, That a perſon who poſſeſſed the confidence of the miniſtry, ſhould be ſent to England, for the purpoſe of examining

ing into the truth of Paradès's reports: M. de Berthois, an officer of genius, was instantly sent for from Calais, where he was then employed. On his arrival at Paris, and being made acquainted with his intended business, he requested twenty-four hours to consider of it: but the Prince of Montbarrey informing him that the cross of St. Louis, a brevet of lieutenant-colonel, and a pension of 4000 livres awaited his acceptance, he immediately complied; and Paradès was also promised, if he brought back M. Berthois in safety from his mission, the cross of St. Louis, together with a pension.

At the appointed time, they embarked in the vessel belonging to Paradès, and set sail for England. M. Berthois wishing to begin his observations with Plymouth, they directed their course to that port, where they arrived on the second day of their leaving Brest. As ill fortune would have it, the crew were drunk at the time of their coming to an anchor, and being hailed from a frigate riding in the Sound, demanding the vessel's name and her destination, the master gave an insolent answer. The captain of this frigate slept at Dock, and the commanding lieutenant being offended at the reply, immediately ordered the barge to be manned, and boarded Paradès vessel with twenty-five marines under arms, demanding to know to whom the vessel belonged, and the name of the fellow who had returned such an insolent answer. The terrified M. de Berthois hid himself among the croud of sailors on

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the deck: the maſter, confounded at the appearance of the marines, imprudently anſwered, "The veſſel belongs to thoſe gentlemen," (pointing to Paradès and Berthois, who were both dreſſed as ſailors.) The lieutenant, aſtoniſhed, addreſſing himſelf to Berthois, aſked him, If he was the owner. He underſtanding Engliſh very imperfectly, anſwered *Oui*, (yes, in French.) The maſter was ſo embarraſſed, as to be incapable of replying to the lieutenant, who ſaid, It was his duty to ſecure them; and they were immediately taken on ſhore, under a guard, to Dock.

By ſingular good fortune, the officer whoſe duty it was to examine them, was a correſpondent of Paradès, and likewiſe on terms of intimacy with the captain of the frigate: the conſequence was, that by means of a draft of 1500l. on Paradès's banker in London, he obtained the releaſe of his people and the diſcharge of his veſſel.

The two adventurers now thinking themſelves perfectly ſecure, took a lodging and changed their dreſſes. Returning from one of their evening walks, they were ſurpriſed to ſee a ſoldier mounting guard at the door where they lodged: though this ſight was far from being agreeable, Paradès, with his uſual effrontery, entered the houſe, followed by M. Berthois. Here they found an old acquaintance of the Count, who was an officer of rank quartered at Dock, to whom he had before made himſelf agreeable: this gentleman reproach-

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ed Paradès for not having called upon him at his quarters, and requeſted to ſee him and his friend at the barracks; after which he took his leave.

The fertile genius of Paradès immediately ſaw the uſe to be made of this; M. Berthois was ſhewn every part of the citadel, and from the commanding eminence on which it is ſituated, had a favourable opportunity of viewing the different branches of the ſea, as Hamoaze, Catwater, and Sutton Pool; all of which he found to correſpond exactly with the deſcriptions given to M. de Sartine.

In the mean time their veſſel was riding in the Sound, and the Union of 90 guns in her paſſage thither being becalmed, and obliged to anchor too near the citadel, the captain ſent to preſs the boats and crews belonging to four veſſels then in the Sound, to aſſiſt in towing her off, the crew of Parades's veſſel was conſequently included, except his ſecretary, whom they had juſt time enough to hide in a caſk.

Before they quitted Plymouth, Paradès, who had frequently purchaſed ſtores at the dock-yard ſales, and was well known there in the character of an Engliſh merchant, bought nine condemned French veſſels for 4600l., and having reſold them by his agents, cleared by the ſpeculation 7000l. ſterling, or 168000 livres Tournois.

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M. de Berthois being unable to bear the ſea, the veſſel was ordered to repair to Portſmouth, for which place the two gentlemen ſet out, after taking a cordial leave of their Plymouth friends, and their countrymen in Mill-priſon, amongſt whom, in due time, their agent had orders to diſtribute ten guineas. They arrived at Portſmouth at ten in the evening; and the next two days were employed in examining the various fortifications of Portſmouth, Goſport, and South-Sea-Caſtle: after which Paradès, as a country gentleman of fortune, hired a pleaſure-yatch, in which they ſurveyed Hurſt-Caſtle, the Needles, Spithead, and St. Helens. Berthois being fully ſatisfied that all Paradès plans and obſervations were perfectly juſt, they departed for Dover, their veſſel being ordered to wait for them there; and in a ſhort time after, they ſet ſail and landed in ſafety at Calais.

Two days after this they arrived at Verſailles, where their plans and obſervations were examined ſeparately and found to correſpond; they only differed in opinion on the mode of attack. The promiſes made to Berthois were faithfully fulfilled; he received the croſs of St. Louis, the brevet of lieutenant-colonel, and a penſion of 4000 livres, with the reverſion to his wife and children.

Paradès, who only obtained the brevet of meſtre de camp of cavalry, without the croſs, was highly diſſatisfied, as he very juſtly alledged that the moſt danger-

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ous part of the buſineſs was impoſed on him, while they ſeemed only to regard him as the guide of M. de Berthois: his loud remonſtrance on this ſubject, was the firſt cauſe of the diſagreement between him and the miniſtry.

When M. de Berthois, the engineer, delivered in his report, it was decided that the neceſſary diſpoſitions ſhould be made not only for attacking Portſmouth, but likewiſe the Iſle of Wight.

M. de Sartine agreed with Paradès that the attack ſhould be made by the ſurpriſe of a ſudden invaſion: but when the plans were laid before the council, they were greatly altered, and at length wholly rejected, though the propoſitions were extremely ſimple. He required 4000 men for Plymouth, and 1500 for Hurſt-Caſtle that commands the paſſage of the Needles; two ſhips of the line, two frigates, and two fire-ſhips: the troops were to be embarked at Breſt as if for America, and when once out of port, it became his province to conduct them to the place of their deſtination.

He had his ſmall veſſels conſtantly in motion, to acquaint him with every naval movement of the enemy; nor was he ignorant of what paſſed in the cabinet-council at St. James. He could not have been in more ſecurity at Breſt than he was at Plymouth, where all was in perfect tranquillity: the Engliſh had not any ſuſpicion of the danger that threatened them. But the

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French miniſtry thought his means too weak to attain the deſired purpoſe; they wiſhed for an enterpriſe of eclat, and that very idea was the cauſe of its failure. Orders were given to Paradès and M. de Berthois, to confer with M. de Vaux and to lay their plans and obſervations before him: from which he prepared and digeſted a plan conformably to the views of the miniſtry, for an attack upon Portſmouth; and inſtead of 5500 troops, and two millions of livres for expenſes, which the Count required, an army of 30000 men was aſſembled at an expenſe of fifty millions of livres, to perform—Nothing,—as Paradès had predicted.

M. le Comte charged M. d'Orvilliers with groſs neglect, in not paying proper attention to his intelligence; by which neglect, many valuable Britiſh convoys eſcaped: this made him his moſt inveterate enemy; and as d'Orvilliers was the protegè of M. de Montbarrey, he found means to prejudice the Prince againſt Paradès; ſo that when he ſtrongly ſolicited the miniſtry for the croſs of St. Louis, he experienced the diſappointment of a refuſal, though M. de Sartine endeavoured to conſole him by an aſſurance, that it ſhould be ſent on his arrival at Breſt.

The French armament under d'Orvilliers ſailed from Breſt in queſt of the Spaniſh fleet, with which they were to form a junction, though Paradès ſtrongly remonſtrated againſt that meaſure, and recommended, in the moſt forcible terms, that inſtead of ſteering for the

coaſt of Spain, d'Orvilliers with 30 ſail of the line ſhould direct his courſe up the Channel, and make an immediate deſcent on that of England.

"Had my advice been taken, (ſays Paradès,) the Engliſh would have been embarraſſed in the higheſt degree: that power had not above 15 ſail of the line in a condition fit for ſea; therefore the enterpriſe would have been eaſy with the French forces alone: but reaſons of ſtate, of which I am totally ignorant, determined it otherwiſe. Events ſhewed I was right, as the Engliſh ſquadron did not put to ſea till a month after d'Orvilliers; though from the time of their ſailing to the capture of the Ardent, ſhips were daily joining their fleet as ſoon as they were fitted for ſea."

In conformity to the Orders of M. de Sartine, M. Paradès embarked at Breſt in the frigate la Gloire, and on the 7th of Auguſt fell in with the French fleet under Uſhant: he immediately repaired with government deſpatches on board the Bretagne, in which ſhip M. d'Orvilliers hoiſted his flag, and had a conference with the admiral, who repeated to him what he had already been informed of before by the officers, "That he did not think it was in his power to act with any proſpect of ſucceſs, on account of the bad ſtate of the ſhips and the lateneſs of the ſeaſon."

At this time advice was received of the ſailing of an Engliſh outward-bound fleet, which it would have been

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eaſy to have intercepted. Paradès propoſed to the admiral to double Uſhant; but his advice was followed when it was too late: on the 14th, ſignals were made for an enemy's fleet, the rear diviſion of which was viſible from the maſt heads; but the admiral pretending to believe them a part of Cordova's ſquadron, refuſed, though contrary to the opinion of his officers, to throw out the ſignal to chace.

The proviſions and water of the fleet being nearly exhauſted, and no convoy arriving from Breſt, Paradès adviſed the admiral to ſteer for Plymouth, demanding only 600 men, a bomb-veſſel, and a fire-ſhip, to make himſelf maſter of the place. The admiral ſeemed willing to grant his requeſt; but the officers repreſenting the ſmallneſs of the force to be employed, perſuaded M. d'Orvilliers to the contrary; and he told Paradès in private, That his age and rank as a land officer, were the obſtacles that laid in his way.

In the mean time, a cutter ſent to Plymouth by the maſter of Paradès's veſſel arrived, requiring to know the reaſon why the French fleet did not enter and ſeize the place, as there was not a ſingle veſſel in the Sound, the Britiſh ſquadron being then cruiſing between the Start and Lizard. At length the Mutine lugger, under the command of the Chevalier de Roquefuille, was deſpatched to reconnoitre Plymouth, and reported on his return, That he had diſcovered nine 80 gun ſhips and ſix frigates riding in the Sound, and that by his

glaſs he had obſerved the maſts of a much larger number behind the citadel. This was poſitively aſſerted; yet Paradès was ſo well convinced of the contrary, and made ſuch ſolid objections to the report, that the Chevalier was greatly embarraſſed, but neverthelefs ſtood to his point.

Paradès's repreſentations appeared ſo juſt, that it was reſolved to deſpatch a frigate on the ſame inquiry, from which, on her return, a ſimilar account was received. The agreement of theſe reports convinced Paradès, that the captains ſent to reconnoitre, being his enemies, had combined in bringing a falſe account. He therefore earneſtly requeſted the admiral to ſet him on ſhore after dark, with two ſailors and a marine officer, ſolemnly promiſing to rejoin him on board the Bretagne in the morning. D'Orvilliers ſeemed inclined to grant his requeſt, but was again diſſuaded by the officers, who told him, That it would be highly degrading to the captains he had ſent, ſhould he diſpute their word.

Paradès being thus ſilenced, (though he had reaſon on his ſide,) it was unanimouſly reſolved, That the blockade of the Engliſh fleet ſhould continue, and the Magicienne frigate was deſpatched to carry the news to court. What opinion can now be formed of d'Orvilliers and his officers? It was then known at Verſailles, and over Europe, that the Engliſh fleet was at ſea, cruiſing in the chops of the Channel.

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As to Paradès, his reputation fell a ſacrifice to the falſe reports of the two officers, whoſe mean jealouſy of his credit with the miniſtry rendered them traitors to the King and the ſtate.

After thoſe repeated diſappointments the Count fell ſick, and eaſily obtained leave to quit the fleet: on the 4th of September he was landed at Breſt from the Tartar frigate. Soon after his arrival he had a relapſe, and was confined by illneſs above a month. On his recovery, he found that calumny had attacked his character from all quarters; but he diſregarded it, as ſpringing from thoſe who were envious of his merit and promotion.

His indefatigable ſpirit prompted him to form three more different plans of attack on the coaſts of Britain; and he had even formed a model in plaiſter of Paris, of the citadel of Plymouth and the adjacent eminences, ſhewing the modes to be purſued, either in rendering the French maſters of it by ſurpriſe, or by open attack: ſhips and troops were readily promiſed, but the uſual procraſtination prevailed till it was known that Plymouth was completely ſecured againſt any attempt, when Paradès and his projects were entirely laid aſide.

Government was now in arrears with him to the amount of 587620 livres; and as all the hopes which he had entertained from the ſucceſs of his labours were completely blaſted, he turned his thoughts to-

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wards procuring a reimburſement, but in vain. On his application to one miniſter, he was referred to another; at one time he was told that his accounts were under examination, and would ſoon be expedited; at the end of which he was adviſed to wait with reſpect and patience: at laſt the miniſters, wearied with his importunities, cauſed him to be arreſted on charges of unjuſtly aſſuming the name of an honourable family, and of betraying the ſecrets of ſtate. The firſt charge he endeavoured to repel, by offering to prove his deſcent from that family, and made a pertinent obſervation to this purport, "While I can ſerve you, what does it ſignify who I am?" The other charge, though unjuſt, was more difficult to obviate: Paradès in the courſe of his miſſions, had been unavoidably under the neceſſity of giving ſuch explanations to his confidants as might in ſome degree countenance that charge. The truth was, the miniſters had done with him, and were reſolved to be no longer teazed with his remonſtrances: the reſult was, that he was committed to the Baſtile.

The origin of this enterpriſing adventurer was extremely obſcure. He and his friends conſtantly aſſerted his deſcent from a noble houſe in Spain; though in his anſwers to the interrogatories of M. de Noir at the Baſtile, he was unable to prove it: on the contrary, many believed him to be the ſon of a paſtry-cook at Phalzbourg, and the latter opinion obtained general credit. But as M. Paradès juſtly obſerved, "Provided

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he could do the King ſervice, of what ſignification was it who he was." In his early tour through Germany and Switzerland, he called himſelf M. Robert de Paradès; but on his arrival in Paris with letters of recommendation to M. de Vergennes, he for the firſt time took the title of Count.

In the memoir which Paradès preſented to M. Sartine, he informed him, That had the making of his own fortune been his principal object, he could eaſily have doubled it; but the King's ſervice demanding his whole attention, the advantages accruing to himſelf were thoſe that aroſe from accidental circumſtances.—Notwithſtanding this declaration, it will appear hereafter, that Paradès had by no means omitted making full uſe of theſe accidental circumſtances, nor of the paſſports granted by the King for the two veſſels he had purchaſed in England.

The produce of his private adventures, viz. by the purchaſe and ſale of ſeveral veſſels; the profits of his ſhares in ſix privateers; on the exchange of louis d'ors into guineas, &c. brought him in a few months the ſum of 825000 livres. He lent 250000 livres on ſecure mortgages; purchaſed a houſe in Paris for which he gave 70000 livres, beſides 50000 expended in furniture and horſes. He kept in bank 450000 livres, (independently of the ſums belonging to government,) to wait opportunities of trying farther the fortune that had uſed him ſo well.

Paradès

Paradès was kept in the Baſtile four months; after which, nothing of conſequence being proved againſt him, he obtained his liberty, and engaged the caſtle of Vrainville for his future reſidence, where he was ſtyled M. le Comte by his domeſtics.

His reſtleſs ſpirit not ſuffering him to remain long ſtationary in any place, he made ſeveral voyages to Gibraltar, England, and Spain: then taking two of his ſtewards with him, who bore the name of *Richard*, and were believed by many to be his brothers, he retired to the iſland of St. Domingo, where he died, leaving a great part of his fortune, with his plans, manuſcripts, and memoirs of his life, to Richard the elder, who, in juſtice to his brother or his friend, or both, it is hoped, will not ſuffer them to be loſt to the world.

The variegated hiſtory of this man will, in ſome meaſure, ſhew the impolicy of abrogating titles and other honourable marks of diſtinction, which as certainly as pecuniary treaſures, form part of the riches of a ſtate; as the moſt eſtimable reward Paradès propoſed to himſelf by the hazard of his life on innumerable occaſions, was the Croſs of St. Louis.

The account here given of this character being ſo cloſely connected with the monarchical government of France,

France, is ſo far uſeful, as it ſerves to convince us of the irreconcileable political enmity of that country to Great-Britain, and the dark and inſidious policy by which its rulers have ever endeavoured to promote its aggrandiſement at the expenſe of their neighbours; and that while ſuch policy prevails, whether the reins of government are held by a deſpotic Monarch, or a no leſs deſpotic Chief Conſul, ſuch inſtruments as M. Paradès will eaſily be found.

The tremendous whirlwind of the Revolution has long ſince ſpent its force, and its loud uproar is ſilenced in peace. The French wearied of, and diſguſted with a ſeries of democratic tyranny under various ſhapes, ſilently ſubmit to a form of government more inimical to liberty, more captious and vindictive in its operations, than the Monarchy they have overthrown.

When we contemplate the vaſt extent of territory and ſubjects acquired by France, and the additional line of ſea-coaſt ſubject to her power, now oppoſed to the eaſtern ſhores of England, we ſeem called upon by wiſdom and foreſight to extinguiſh our political animoſities, and provide by unanimity for the future preſervation of that glorious fabric of our conſtitution, that ſtill rears its head in awful majeſty amidſt the wreck of ſurrounding empires.

The viſions of modern philoſophy, the fanciful ideas of thoſe who affect to call themſelves citizens of the

world, who, at the commencement of the French Revolution, foreſaw the eſtabliſhment of univerſal and perpetual peace over the earth, remain to be realized. When the French departed from what was their original profeſſed principle of abſtaining from conqueſt, and ſubſtituted for it a ſpirit of over-ruling ambition and an oppreſſive ſyſtem of unprincipled invaſion and violence, the conſequence has been, an increaſed extent of territory, and a formidable addition of power, to what they lately poſſeſſed. This naturally excited a well-founded alarm, and arouſed the indignation of almoſt every country: the Nations ſaw, but alas! too late, the reſult of the principles that actuated the leaders of France; under the pretence of alliance and protection, they aimed to effect the ſubjugation of every inferior ſtate in their vicinity. By the example of ancient Rome, whoſe patriots (without their own walls,) were the common enemies of mankind, the aggrandiſement of the Great Nation was purſued through blood and treachery, till the long projected plan was finally accompliſhed; and we now behold the limits of that extenſive empire ſtrongly fixed by the boundaries of the ocean, the Rhine, the Alps and Pyrenees, preſenting by every combination of nature and art, an impenetrable front to every ſurrounding ſtate.

Here ambition might have checked its aſpiring courſe, and the world have been ſuffered to reſt in peace. Would it were ſo! But while the flag of Great-Britain is triumphantly diſplayed on the ocean;

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while its unbounded commerce is protected by a navy ſuperior in numbers and diſcipline to that of France and her confederates, never will the domineering ſpirit of our formidable neighbour reſt in peace, nor will the imperious ſoul of her *preſent Deſpot* ſoon forget the failure of his darling ſcheme of annihilating the Britiſh power in India. Still will the tranquillity of his ſlumbers be invaded by the pallid ſpirit of the gallant Abercrombie, decorated with the laurel that once bound the brows of the conqueror of Italy, who, like Cæſar his prototype, conquered in the name of a republic, but in reality for himſelf.

The obſtructions given to our commerce ſince the ſigning of the definitive treaty, evince a fixed degree of rancour, that only waits a convenient opportunity to injure mortally that ſource of our affluence. This calls for unremitting vigilance in our governors, and unanimity amongſt individuals. Let Union be the rallying ſignal, and the Britiſh empire may ſtill bid defiance to the private machinations and open aſſaults of a whole world in arms.

The hiſtory of the Baſtile has now been retraced from the foundation of that once formidable fortreſs, in 1370, to its final demolition by the Pariſian populace in 1789, and the details of its interior government; with anecdotes of ſuch remarkable perſons as

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have been confined there, and the treatment they received; drawn from ſuch fources of authenticity as cannot be controverted, and which tend greatly to invalidate the many highly coloured and romantic deſcriptions that have long been believed to be genuine.

Many a tear has been excited, and many a ſigh breathed from the ſuſceptible heart, at the pathetic relations of the ſufferings of highly injured beings, who never had exiſtence but in the minds of thoſe who wiſh to excite emotions of ſenſibility at the expenſe of truth. Let thoſe who have a tear to ſpare for real diſtreſs, impreſs upon their mental viſion the darkſome tower that contained the wretched royal victims to popular frenzy, compare their retrenched ſuſtenance with the allowance to the priſoners in the Baſtile, the inſults they ſuffered, and the treatment they received from wretches induſtriouſly collected from the dregs of mankind, to ſee that the cup of miſery ſhould be drained to the bottom!

A writer of great reſpectability very juſtly obſerves, "That Louis XVI. did not poſſeſs that active courage which prompts reſiſtance, and produces magnanimous efforts." But in all his ſufferings he diſplayed an energetic preſence of mind, which demonſtrated that no exertion was too great for him, had his perſonal danger been the only obſtacle. His interrogatory, and his laſt will, remain undeniable teſtimonies of the quickneſs and correctneſs of his judgment, and the ſincerity

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and goodneſs of his heart. The King's behaviour in the moſt trying ſituations, particularly during the inſurrections which diſgraced the latter years of his reign, evinced magnanimity; whilſt a propriety of conduct, from the commencement of the trial to the moment which terminated his exiſtence, forms a picture of excellence almoſt ſurpaſſing humanity, and demonſtrates the tranſcendent benefits of that religious purity which takes the ſenſe of ſhame from accumulated ignominy, which deprives cruelty of its venom and death of its ſting.

Such was the man whom his ill fate doomed to reign over the French, in an age when virtues like theſe inſured ruin inſtead of reſpect! Such was the man, whoſe murder was lately celebrated by an inhuman and impious feſtival!

[*It would be unjuſt to the memory and character of the Queen to leave her character and misfortunes unnoticed.*]

Marie Antoinette was ſacrificed to the violence of the French nation in the 38th year of her age. Her early charms have been celebrated, and their premature decline regretted, by numbers who witneſſed the meridian brilliancy and blood-ſtained ſetting of this once reſplendent ſtar. The principal charges advanced againſt her by her inveterate enemies, were, Profuſion in her private expenſes, large remittances to the Emperor her brother, and conjugal infidelity.

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Concerning the firſt of theſe charges, many circumſtances of extenuation might be urged; particularly, her youth, her inexperience, the involuntary admiration with which her charms were beheld by all who ſurrounded her, and the ſplendid ſtyle in which ſhe had been educated in the moſt ſuperb court in Europe.

With reſpect to the ſums tranſmitted to the Emperor, many aſſertions have been made, without the adduction of a ſingle proof, written or verbal. Had this been the caſe, evidence thereof would not have been wanting, and this want indicates a probability, or rather a certainty, that the accuſation was unfounded.—Her reply to the interrogatory on this ſubject, is clear, preciſe, and ſatisfactory. It being obſerved, that "Not content with dilapidating, in a ſhocking manner, the finances of France, the fruits of the ſweat of the people, for the ſake of her pleaſures and intrigues, ſhe had (in concert with infamous miniſters,) ſent to the Emperor *thouſands of millions* to be employed againſt the nation that had foſtered her." Her anſwer was, "Never! I know this mean artifice has been made uſe of to my prejudice: I loved my huſband too well, to diminiſh the treaſure of his country. My brother did not want money from France, and from the ſame principle which attached me to this Country, I would not have given him any."

This unfounded accuſation is ſtill further refuted by the contradiction of thoſe from whom it originated,

who,

who, while they charged the Queen with dilapidations amounting to *thouſands of millions*, implicated her in a diſgraceful trick, which, if ſucceſsful, would have produced only a million of livres, (43750l.) to be ſhared between her and half a dozen ſharpers.

The other point of accuſation, matrimonial infidelity, by its nature reſiſts the demand of evidence from thoſe who detail it: yet it might be ſuppoſed, from the number of inſtances adduced, (for there was hardly a courtier of figure or a traveller of conſequence who was not ranked among her favourites,) that ſome proof would, in the courſe of the revolution, have come to light. But even on her trial, though the fact was alleged in the moſt indecent terms, no teſtimony of it was produced. The circumſtantial evidence is on the other ſide; for if we lay no ſtreſs on the fidelity and courage with which the Queen, in the moſt trying ſituations, fulfilled the duties of a wife and mother, ſtill it appears impoſſible that ſhe ſhould have been beloved as ſhe was by her huſband, had a ſingle charge advanced againſt her been juſt, or the ſuſpicion in anywiſe well founded.

That ſhe could have conducted her intrigues in private, is impoſſible, becauſe from the moment of her arrival in France, to that of her death, ſhe was ſurrounded with ſpies and enemies. If the ſlighteſt of theſe accuſations had been true, it is not poſſible that ſhe ſhould have retained to his laſt hour the warmeſt

affections

affections of a King, who united with the moſt untainted virtue the higheſt ſenſe of honour, and the greateſt diſlike of impropriety. Could the Queen, in ſuch a caſe, have poſſeſſed ſo firmly the eſteem and affection of the unſullied and uncalumniated princeſs Elizabeth, who on the celebrated 20th of June, offered to ſacrifice her own life for her royal ſiſter's protection? The Queen's declaration, when ſhe was pleading for her reputation, without the leaſt hope of life, is remarkable and convincing, from its genuine appearance of candour and virtuous indignation: ſpeaking of Trianon, the ſuppoſed ſeat of her voluptuous revels, ſhe ſaid, "I wiſh more than any one, that every thing which took place there might be made public."

After the foregoing deſcription of the Baſtile, let the impartial reader compare it with the ſubſequent one of the Conciergerie, that den of horrors, from whence a Queen (the conſort of him who lately poſſeſſed one of the moſt ſplendid thrones in the world,) was dragged, amidſt the inſults of a ferocious mob, to the public place of execution.

The Conciergerie, during the regal government, was a priſon for the worſt of malefactors; with them it was ſhared, under the revolutionary deſpotiſm of Robeſpierre, by thoſe who were arreſted as ſuſpected,

or

or had been condemned by the dreadful tribunal, and were awaiting the execution of their ſentence. Its cells are ſubterraneous; over them are ſhops and walks, where the gaiety and profuſion of the idle and curious mark in ſtrong colours, the contraſted woe and penury of the unfortunate priſoners below. Four wickets, at a ſmall diſtance from each other, ſecured the entrance to this horrible priſon, guarded by wretches taken from the dregs of vulgar brutality; diſguſting by their vice, filth, and inebriety, and ſpeaking a language characteriſtic of their occupation, in Engliſh called *ſlang*. Between the two firſt doors, the priſoner was uſually introduced to the turnkey, who, attended by ſome aſſiſtants, examined his features, gave orders for his reception, and paſſed him on through the other wickets.

The place where the priſoners were at firſt lodged was called the Souricière, or Mouſe-trap, a dungeon impervious to the rays of the ſun, and exhaling an infectious ſtench, from the accumulated filth of perſons who had previouſly occupied it. The ſtraw provided for a bed was rotten with damp and abounded with vermin; the rats ate the ſhoes, clothes, and even the fleſh of the unhappy tenants. In this infernal abode they were ſometimes left for thirty-ſix or forty-eight hours, without relief, without communication, without food: they were afterwards transferred to ſome other chamber, or to a different priſon. The diſtinction of apartments in the Conciergerie was made by the terms *a la piſtole*—in the ſtraw—or, in the dunge-

ons. The firſt ſet were thus denominated from the monthly ſum paid for a wretched bed: the others were only diſtinguiſhed from each other by this, That thoſe in the ſtraw were turned out of their apartments between eight and nine in the morning, and were not permitted to re-enter them till about an hour before ſun-ſet; while thoſe in the dungeons were confined all the day. The augmentation of the priſoners was alike in each: the increaſing rigour of the revolutionary government cauſed arreſtations ſo numerous, that many perſons, not finding room in the cells, were obliged to take up their reſidence in the galleries: The priſon, from croud, dirt, want of air, and other nuiſances, was rendered ſo unwholeſome, that thoſe confined there fell ill, and died in ſuch numbers as almoſt to exceed credibility.

In the falſely denominated courts of juſtice attached to the Conciergerie, the Abbey, and other priſons, the mock trials of the wretched victims are thus deſcribed by M. Joumiac St Meard, who eſcaped from the fangs of theſe tygers by the favour of a Federè, and the indulgence of one of his judges.

"By the light of two torches I beheld the dreadful tribunal which was to decide on my life or death. The preſident, in a grey coat, with a hanger by his ſide, leaned againſt a table, on which were papers, pen and ink, with pipes and bottles. There were ten perſons about this table, ſome ſitting, others ſtanding;

two

two of whom were in waiſtcoats, with aprons on; others were ſleeping upon benches. Two men, in bloody ſhirts, with hangers in their hands, guarded the door of the chamber: a haggard old turnkey had his hand on the bolts. Three men were holding before the preſident a priſoner, who appeared to be about ſixty years of age. I was placed in a corner of the room; my guards croſſed their hangers over my breaſt, and told me they would ſtab me, if I made the leaſt attempt to eſcape. Upon looking round, I ſaw two national ſoldiers preſent to the preſident a petition, from the ſection of la Croix Rouge, on behalf of the priſoner before him. He told them, That petitions in favour of traitors were uſeleſs. Upon which the priſoner exclaimed, "This is horrible! your judgment is an aſſaſſination." The preſident replied, "I waſh my hands of it: take away M. Maillè." No ſooner were the words pronounced, than they puſhed him into the ſtreet, where (through the opening of the priſon door,) I ſaw him maſſacred." *

And before ſuch a tribunal, drawn from the cavern

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* Liſt of priſoners maſſacred on the 2d and 3d of September. In the Abbey priſon, 162; at the Carmelite Convent, 141; at the Hotel de Force, 168; at the Chatelet, 214; at the Conciergerie, 85; in the Bicetre, 153; at the Bernardine Cloiſter, 73: in the whole, to the horrid number of 1088; excluſively of thoſe at the Salpetriere and the Pont au Charge.

of

of miſery and deſpair, her laſt earthly abode, appeared the faded and emaciated form of the once beauteous Maria Antonietta, the deſcendant of the Cæſars, the daughter of the great Empreſs Maria Thereſa, and the choſen conſort of Louis, King of France and Navarre: ſhe, who after ſuffering the moſt complicated perſonal inſult, completed the unmanly triumph of a ferocious democracy, by an ignominious death on a public ſcaffold; and, when that horrid tragedy was cloſed, her corſe was not allowed the privilege of even a decent interment in a kingdom to which ſhe had once been the brighteſt ornament.

The events ariſing from theſe ſcenes of blood, naturally lead the mind to reflexions on the enormities that are uſually produced, when the orators of ſedition are ſuffered to arouſe the paſſions of the people, by repreſenting to them, That they have hitherto been kept, by the artifices of deluſion, from the exerciſe of their proper rights; that the titles of kings and nobles, and the wealth of the dignified clergy, are all uſurpations and robberies committed upon them. Whether the fury is let looſe by a Petion or a Gordon, the rights of man to life, liberty, and property, oppoſe a feeble barrier to the work of cruelty and deſtruction: the life-refreſhing face of Nature is neglected or laid waſte; the elegant productions of the arts are deſtroyed; the hoary head of wiſdom, and the enchanting form of beauty, are diſfigured and enveloped in blood:

blood: theſe form but a part of the vaſt and hideous ruin. And yet the National Aſſembly of France could not foreſee this, when they directed the thunder-ſtorm of popular frenzy againſt the long-reverenced fabric of their Monarchy. Can we look otherwiſe than with terrour and abhorrence on the Altar of Liberty, when we ſee it ſtained with the blood of the aged, the innocent, and the defenceleſs?

May ſuch ſavage acts of violence never degrade the character of Britons! But ſhould the venerable pile of our Conſtitution require reparation, may that reparation be effected without injury to the ſtrength or beauty of the building! In the courſe of ages it has reſiſted unnumbered ſtorms, and by a cloſe union of its internal parts, (firm as the rocks that guard our coaſts,) may flouriſh the example and admiration of ſurrounding nations, until time ſhall be no more.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

The following is a liſt of the Governors of the Caſtle of the Baſtile, from 1370 *to* 1789.

1375	Cha. V.	Hugh d'Aubriot.
1404	Cha. VI.	The Sieur de St. Georges.
1413	———	Prince Louis of Bavaria, Uncle of the Dauphin, and appointed by him during the Indiſpoſition of Charles VI.
1436	Cha. VII.	Thomas de Beaumont; killed in a battle with the Engliſh, near Paris.
1475	Louis XI.	Philip l'Huillier.
1588	Hen. III.	The Duke of Guiſe, who appointed Buſſy le Clerc, procurator to the parliament, his firſt Captain.
——	———	De Bourg was governor of the Baſtile at the time of the ſurrender of Paris, on
1594	Hen. IV.	the 22d of March, 1594. He made a ſhew of defending the fortreſs; but ſeeing every thing prepared for a ſtorm, he capitulated three days after the reduction of the city, the garriſon being allowed quarter, and to keep their baggage. The Duke of Maine appointed this officer during the time of the League.
——	———	De Vic. Henry IV. gave the government of the Baſtile to this officer, as a

1594 Hen. IV. recompenſe for his eminent ſervice during the ſiege of Paris, to the reduction of which he highly contributed: he was afterwards governor of St. Denis; then of the city of Calais, where he died in 1610.——According to Hiſtory, M. de Vic was an officer of uncommon merit and high diſtinction.

1611 ——— Maximilian of Bethune, Duke of Sully, principal miniſter to Henry IV. from 1601 to 1611. He reſigned the government to Louis XIII., who recompenſed his merit with a gift of ſixty thouſand pounds.

——— ——— Mary de Medicis, Regent in the minority of Louis, conferred the command of the Baſtile on M. de Chateau-vieux, her chevalier of honour and lieutenant to his Majeſty. The Prince of Conde being confined in this caſtle, was firſt under the guard of the Count de Lauziere; afterwards under that of an officer named Thiers, a relation to the Marſhal d'Ancre; after whoſe death, the Prince was under the cuſtody of the Baron de Perſan.

1617 Louis XIII. Marſhal Baſſompierre, who after a ſhort time, reſigned the command of the caſtle to M. de Luynes, who was ſucceeded the ſame year by the Marſhal de Vitry.

1626 ——— The Duke of Luxembourg, brother to the conſtable de Luynes. The Marſhal de l'Hopital, captain of the life-guards,

and

1626 Louis XIII. and brother to Marſhal Vitry, entered the Baſtile on the 7th of May with a detachment, drove out the company of Swiſs placed there by the Duke of Luxembourg, and replaced them by thirty ſoldiers of the regiment of guards, under the command of the Sieur la Coſte, enſign in the life-guards, who retained the command of the Baſtile till the appointment of the Sieur de Tremblay.

1649 Le Clerc de Tremblay, under the Regency of Anne of Auſtria and the miniſtry of Cardinal Mazarine, was made governor of the Baſtile. During the war of la Fronde, after a few cannon-ſhot fired againſt it, the caſtle ſurrendered, the Prince of Conti leading the party of the Fronde. The parliament making peace with his Majeſty, by the 3d article it was ſtipulated, That the Baſtile ſhould remain in the King's power.—The peace was confirmed on Holy-Thurſday, 1649.

—— —— On the 21ſt of October, the Duke of Orleans had orders to quit Paris, which he obeyed. On that day the King arrived, and the Sieur de Louviere reſigned the government of the Baſtile to M. de la Bachelerie, who had been deputed to him on the part of his Majeſty.

1658 Louis XIV. Baiſemaux de Montleſun: he was captain of the guards to Cardinal Mazarine, and was appointed, on the diſmiſſion of the Sieurs Tremblay and Louviere, to the command of the Baſtile.

1697

1697 Louis XIV. M. Baiſemaux died in 1697, aged 88 years, and was interred in the church of the Carmelites.

——— ——— Benigne d'Auvergne, bailiff and governor of Sens, was appointed governor in 1697; he died at the Baſtile in 1708, aged 82 years, and was interred in the church of St. Paul. He had been governor of the fort of exiles, near Pignerol, and afterwards of the iſles of St. Marguerite and Honorat, ſtate-priſons.

1708 ——— Charles le Fournier, Chevalier and Lord of Bernaville, made governor in 1708; died in 1718, at the age of 74 years. He had formerly been the King's lieutenant at the caſtle of Vincennes.

1718 ——— Jourdan de Launay, appointed December, 1718: died ſuddenly, when on a viſit to Madame Beuctere, near St. Benedict's, Auguſt, 1749; and on the following day was interred in that church. He had been the King's lieutenant in the Baſtile ſince 1710.

1749 ——— Pierre Baiſle, made governor in 1749: formerly King's lieutenant at the caſtle of Vincennes. He died in December, 1758, and was interred at St. Paul's.

1758 Louis XV. Francis Jerome Dabadie, a native of Grenada, formerly captain in the regiment of Piedmont, with the rank of colonel, appointed in 1758. He died in May, 1761, and was interred in the church of St. Paul.

1761	Louis XV.	Antony Joſeph Mary Mâcon Chapelles, Count of Jumilhac, firſt gentleman of the chamber to his late Majeſty Staniſlaus, King of Poland, Duke of Lorraine and Bar.
1776	Louis XVI.	The Sieur Jourdan, Marquis of Launay, and Knight of the order of St. Louis, was born in the Baſtile in the year 1740. He entered the army as a black muſquetaire, and afterwards ſerved in the regiment of guards until 1763 or 1764: ſome years after he re-entered the ſervice, and had a captain's commiſſion in a regiment of cavalry. He was appointed to the government of the Baſtile in October, 1776, upon the diſmiſſion and ſubſequent arrangement with M. de Jumilhac. Beheaded at the Greve the 14th of July, 1789: interred *****

Late civil and military eſtabliſhment of the Baſtile.

The Governor, the King's Lieutenant, Major, two Adjutants; a Surgeon and Aſſiſtant, a Chaplain, and four Turnkeys. Theſe all lodged within the precincts of the caſtle.

A Phyſician, who having an appointment in the King's family, was lodged in the Tuilleries.

Two Prieſts, having each 400 livres per annum for aſſiſting the chaplain in celebrating maſs on Sundays and Holydays.

A Keeper of the Records and his Clerk.

A Super-

A Superintendant of the buildings and an Engineer, who reſided in different parts of the city.

The garriſon, at the time of the capture, conſiſted of 82 invalids and their officers, and 32 Swiſs ſoldiers, commanded by M. Louis de la Flue.

The maſſive towers of the Baſtile being now razed to the ground, an unprejudiced perſon may, without incurring cenſure, be permitted to make a few obſervations on what have been called Lettres de Cachet, as their abuſe was in ſome meaſure connected with the fortreſs of which we have been treating. The abuſe of them, rather than their inſtitution, merited the deteſtation in which they were held; for, however ſurpriſing it may ſeem, they were ſometimes uſed to ſerve the purpoſes of clemency. There are inſtances of perſons who on affairs of ſtate, would have been expoſed to public puniſhment, who have been immured by a Lettre de Cachet until the danger was paſt, the charge obviated, or the proſecution dropped. In the courſe of the reports it has been repreſented, that ſheltering offenders from the public puniſhment they merit, is in itſelf a crime againſt civil ſociety: but in forming a judgment on this ſubject, it ought to be remembered, that by an old and barbarous practice in France, the diſgrace attending a capital puniſhment inflicted by the laws, ſpread ignominy on all the family of the criminal; and that, in many inſtances, it required a pub-

lic

lic act of the executive power to obliterate the disgrace, and again enable them to serve their country. So far as those Lettres counteracted such prejudices, they were useful; but though they were signed by the King from an idea that it was necessary to have them ready in all cases of emergency, ministers, governors of provinces, &c. were generally furnished with them, leaving blank spaces for the names to be supplied at their discretion, and their friends and favourites sometimes obtained them for malicious purposes, particularly towards the close of the reign of Louis XV., or rather that of the mistresses and unworthy favourites of that voluptuous Monarch, when they were made the terrible engines of oppression.

The following uncontradicted statement by Bertrand de Moleville, will afford additional evidence of the goodness of heart of the late royal victim of France.

"There were state-prisons in several provinces of the kingdom, especially in Britany: the number of these, and the expeditious and arbitrary form of imprisonment by Lettres de Cachet, having been the chief ground of the opinion generally adopted in foreign nations, respecting the pretended despotism of the French government, it is incumbent upon me to say here, that while I was intendant of Britany, I received an express order from the King to visit all the state-prisons in that province, to receive from every prisoner a statement respecting himself, and to transmit

mit an account thereof to the miniſter, the Baron de Breteuil. This order was accompanied with ample inſtructions concerning the motives of juſtice and humanity by which it had been dictated, and the manner in which his Majeſty wiſhed his paternal intentions to be executed. The circular letter which contained thoſe inſtructions, was addreſſed to all the intendants: I obeyed it, as was my duty, with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs, and I atteſt upon my *honour*, that there was not in Britany a ſingle ſtate priſoner whoſe confinement was not an act of juſtice, and in many inſtances, an act of benevolence or mercy."

The account of the departure of their Majeſties to the Hall of the Convention is truly pathetic, and evinces that, whatever may have been the faults of Maria Antoinetta, ſhe was neither deficient in greatneſs of mind, nor ſtrength of affection. *Vide Critical Review, vol.* 8, 1798.

"The procureur Syndic entered with the members of the department into the chamber of the King, where the royal family and the miniſters only were aſſembled. After having depicted the urgency of the danger in the moſt true and moſt alarming colours, the unfaithfulneſs of one part of the troops, the corruption of others, and the threats of an immediate and terrible

irruption,

irruption, only one mean of ſafety appeared to offer; which was, that the King ſhould ſurrender himſelf directly to the protection of the legiſlative body.

"Twice he was interrupted in his diſcourſe, by a marked diſapprobation: at laſt, beginning to ſpeak again with ſtill more heat and vehemence, and addreſſing himſelf to the Queen, he exclaimed, "Madam, the moments are precious: one minute, perhaps one ſecond, and it is impoſſible to anſwer for the life of the King, for thoſe of your Majeſty and of his Children!"

"Oppreſſed by the weight of theſe laſt arguments, and pointing to the King and her Children, "Ah! well, (ſaid the Queen,) it is the laſt of ſacrifices, but you ſee the objects of it!"

"You who are wives and mothers, accuſe her if ye can!"——*Hiſtory of the Conſpiracy of the* 10*th of Auguſt*, 1792.

It has been affirmed, that the archives of the Baſtile contained memorials of other priſons, and likewiſe accounts from the police: that theſe are facts, the following pieces will ſhew.

The firſt is a letter from the Sieur Bory, governor of the caſtle of Pierre en Cize at Lyons, to the lieutenant of the police at Paris, as follows:

"The

"The Sieur Caillat, ſir, uneaſy at receiving no news from his wife, has aſked my permiſſion to write to her, and I have the honour to tranſmit to you his letter. Notwithſtanding his ſolitude, he is the moſt tranquil and leaſt melancholy of any priſoner in the caſtle. He amuſes himſelf with the books which I lend him to read, and with making whiſtles of mutton bones. His head is clear and ingenious; and it is great pity he has loſt by diſhoneſt practices, the credit and fortune his talents would have certainly procured him.

"The Sieur Dorval behaves tolerably well,—But the Sieur Deſpinoy writes to all the world. I have received orders to lay ſome reſtraint upon that licence, which he ſo much abuſes, and to ſuffer him to write to no one but his wife; which is ſufficient indulgence for ſo bad a fellow.

"Of the priſoners whom you ſent me, there remain only the three I now give you account of: of courſe I have many vacancies; which if you chuſe to fill up, you know my zeal, and the extreme deſire I have to merit all your goodneſs.

"I am, &c.

Signed BORY.

From Pierre en Cize,
4th Feb. 1756.

Copies

Copies of letters from Meſſ. Berrier and Bertin, lieutenants of the police, to M. de Guyonnet, the King's lieutenant at Vincennes; the originals of which are in the poſſeſſion of M. le Maire, comptroller of the poſts, in Rue Guinegaud, No. 20. Paris.

Paris, 13*th April*, 1754.

I Have given orders, ſir, to the commiſſary Rochbrune, to furniſh a pound and a half of ſnuff to each of the ſeven priſoners in the caſtle, and you are to allow them each half a pound per month, at the King's expenſe. The commiſſary has likewiſe orders to ſend you the medicines of M. Reſſec.

I am, &c.

Signed BERRIER.

Paris, ———

Permiſſion was ſometime ſince granted to Madame de St. Saviour, to conſult with the rector of Roucheres, on an arrangement of the affairs of her late huſband: this permiſſion is to be continued, ſhould ſhe requeſt it. No priſoner in the caſtle to be allowed to hold converſation with thoſe without, but by the direct leave of the miniſter or myſelf: though this extend to one ſex, politeneſs due to ladies exempts them.

Signed BERRIER.

Paris,

Paris, 15th June, 1754.

I am perfectly agreeable, ſir, that you ſhould ſupply the Demoiſelle Huguerin, priſoner in the caſtle, with ſuch books for her amuſement in her chamber as ſhe may wiſh for.

Signed BERRIER.

Paris, 22d Dec. 1757.

I received, ſir, your letter of yeſterday, in which you inform me that the Abbè Vaillant, priſoner in the caſtle, lies dangerouſly ill; that he refuſes to accept of father Griffet as his confeſſor, ſhould I ſend him. As this is a preſſing caſe, and ſo much time may be loſt in going and coming, that the ſick perſon might die without confeſſion, you may, as you propoſe in your letter, ſend for the rector of Fontaine-au-Bois, near Vincennes, whom you aſſure me is a man of gentle manners, to confeſs the Abbè Vaillant, if he ſhould give him the preference. I more readily agree to your propoſition, as the priſoner, when at the Baſtile, refuſed the ſpiritual aſſiſtance of the rector of St. Paul, having an inſurmountable averſion to father Griffet.

The gentleman officiating in the holy chapel of Vincennes, need not be hurt, as every one is at liberty to chuſe what confeſſor he pleaſes. Inform me, by expreſs, of the condition of the ſick priſoner, and what you have done on his account.

Signed BERTIN.

The Sieur de Winsfeld wiſhes for an almanac, that he may know the names of the preſent miniſtry: you may inform him, that almanacs and political papers are prohibited to ſtate priſoners in the caſtles of the Baſtile and Vincennes. As this is a ſtanding order, the Sieur de Winsfeld can be no more offended with it, than any other priſoner there. It is of little conſequence to him to know the name of the miniſter in whoſe department he remains, becauſe by writing to the miniſter of the department of Vincennes, his letter will go to its intended deſtination. However, as he deſires it, you may inform him that the name of the miniſter is M. le Comte de St. Florentin, and that he may write to him under a cover directed to me; when an anſwer is received, it ſhall be tranſmitted to Vincennes in the ſame manner.

Signed BERTIN.

We likewiſe found ſeveral journals ſent by certain aged ladies keeping houſes of private entertainment, who, with the reſt of their reſpectable ſiſterhood, were obliged to tranſmit to the grave officers of the police, accounts of their gueſts, &c. to charm, if poſſible, the inſupportable languor of Louis XV., and to gratify the licentious curioſity of his miſtreſſes. But theſe are too indelicate for publication.

FINIS.

T. Webſter, Printer, Whitby.

The following Extracts are taken from the journal of la Defrene, a Procureſs, and which were ſent by her to the lieutenant of the police.

June 20th, 1753, M. Cottel, mathematical-inſtrument maker to the King, living at Verſailles, aged about 40 years, married.—Entered the houſe at ſix in the evening, and quitted it at eight. Saw the little girl Raton, who lives with Madame Huguet.

June 22d. Baron Rambacq, Knight of St. Louis, aged 70 years. Saw Mademoiſelle Victoire, who lodges with me.—Entered the houſe at ſix o'clock, and quitted it at ſeven.

The prior of Seſanne, lodging in Thereſa-ſtreet, aged 35 years; dreſſes ſometimes like a rake of faſhion, wearing a ſword. Saw Mademoiſelle Victoire.—Entered the houſe at eight, and qnitted it at nine o'clock.

June 23d. M. de Cremille, grand croſs of the Cordon-Rouge, lieutenant-general in the King's armies, treaſurer of the ſtates of Britany, reſiding in the place Vendome, aged 55 years. Saw Mademoiſelle Adelaide.—Entered the houſe at nine, and quitted it at half paſt ten o'clock.

Signed F. Dufrene.

Auguſt, 1762. On the 14th, at five o'clock, M. Riboulet came to my houſe, and at ſix, M. Pic took Mademoiſelle Bertelot to the French Comedy.

On

On the 16th, M. Vèrnon, jeweller, ſhewed me an apple of a moderate ſize, made of card, in a gold caſe, and exactly imitated: the ſtalk of this apple was compoſed of diamonds, and on the top a roſe of the ſame. Around it was this inſcription in brilliants, "To the Faireſt." I could not learn from him the name of the gentleman who ordered it, nor that of the lady it was deſigned for.

Auguſt 28th. The rev. father Bernard, of the abbey of St. Genevieve, came alone, ſupped, and went to ſleep with two ladies: drank much Burgundy and Champagne. His bill came to ſix and a half louis d'ors.

The ſignature to this was illegible.

The following anecdote we relate ſuch as we found it in the papers taken from the Baſtile, and committed to our hands.

"About the year 1684, a Monſieur Languet de Gergy, who was married and had no children, was confined in the Baſtile: as it was of importance to him to have iſſue, he aſked leave for his wife to viſit him. This was granted for a ſingle night; the reſult was, that the lady in due time was delivered of two boys; one of whom was afterwards archbiſhop of Sens, and the other rector of St. Sulpice."

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BSB Bayerische StaatsBibliothek
MDZ Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek

Gibson, Francis

Memoirs of the Bastille Translated from the French Registers, Records, and other authentic Documents, found in the Archives of the Castle At the Time of its Surrender, on the 14th of July, 1789; and published under the Sanction of the National Assembly Of France

Witby 1802

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